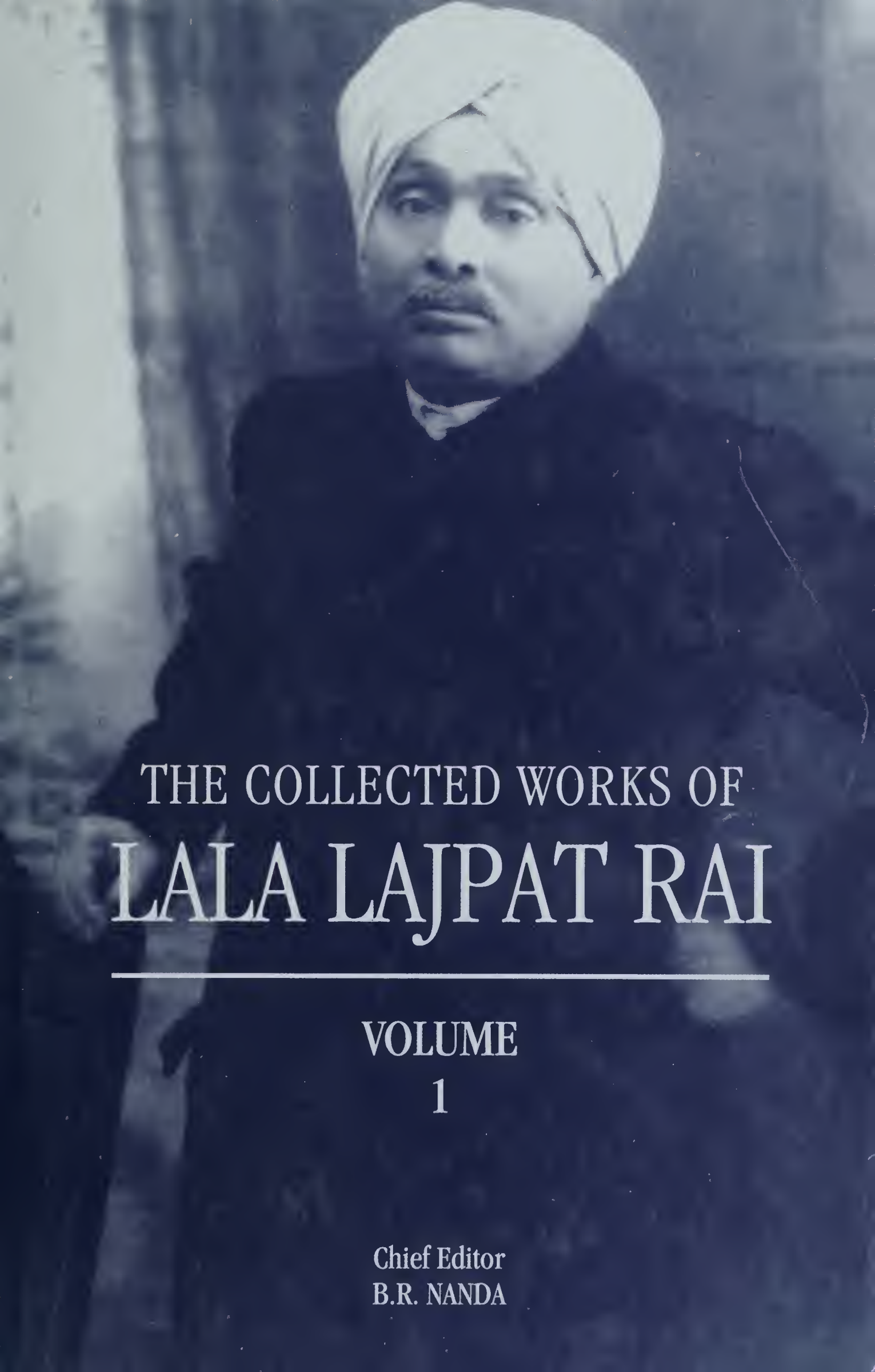

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF LALA LAJPAT RAI

VOLUME 1

Chief Editor
B.R. NANDA

Lala Lajpat Rai was one of the outstanding leaders of modern India, a contemporary of Dadabhai Naoroji, Tilak, Gokhale and Gandhi. His public life spanned the last decade of the nineteenth century and first three decades of the twentieth century. In his twenties he practised law at the Lahore Chief Court and built up a lucrative practice but was drawn very early into public activities pertaining to religious, educational and social reforms and then to nationalist politics.

Lajpat Rai was one of the foremost leaders of the Indian National Congress in the years before the First World War. His arrest and deportation without trial to Burma in 1907 created great sensation in India. He spent the war years in the United States promoting the Indian case for self-government. He returned to India in 1920 and presided over the historic session of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta which approved of Gandhi's programme for non-cooperation with the Raj. Later, he was the deputy leader of the Swaraj Party in the Central Legislative Assembly. He remained active both in provincial and national politics in the 1920s. While leading a demonstration against the Simon Commission at Lahore in 1928 he received injuries in an assault by the police which hastened his death.

The first volume in this series covers the period up to 1900. While engaged in legal practice at the Lahore Bar, Lajpat Rai was also intensely involved in the work of Arya Samaj, and in social and humanitarian activities, such as famine relief, organization of orphanages and promotion of education on modern lines. He made his first foray into national politics at the age of twenty-three. He wrote 'Open Letters' to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the great Muslim educationist of Aligarh, charging him with going back on his views on Hindu-Muslim unity and

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LALA LAJPAT RAI

VOLUME ONE

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THE COLLECTED WORKS OF

LALA LAJPAT RAI

VOLUME ONE

Chief Editor
B.R. Nanda

MANOHAR
2003

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To the memory of
SHRI KRISHAN KANTJI,
President of the Servants of the People Society,
who initiated this project.

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उप-राष्ट्रपति, भारत
नई दिल्ली
VICE-PRESIDENT
INDIA
NEW DELHI

FOREWORD

Lala Lajpat Rai ranks among the outstanding leaders of modern India and occupies a distinctive place in the galaxy of world personalities who fought for the freedom of their peoples. A contemporary and colleague of Mahatma Gandhi, Lokmanya Tilak, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Lala Lajpat Rai got a place in the national lexicon as one of the triumvirate (Lal, Bal, Pal) of the extremist fame in the Indian nationalist struggle in 1905 during an all-India agitation against the partition of Bengal. Lalaji made his first foray into politics in 1888 when he was only 23 years old and wrote a series of 'Open Letters' to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan which appeared in the Urdu weekly *Koh-i-Noor* of Lahore. In these letters he profusely quoted from Sir Syed's earlier writings to prove his *volte face* concerning his earlier views on Hindu-Muslim unity and Indian nationhood and all what he had preached before the Indian National Congress was founded.

These 'Open Letters' shot young Lajpat Rai to instant national fame so much so that A.O. Hume, the founder of the Indian National Congress, got them published in English and circulated. When Lajpat Rai arrived at Allahabad in 1888 to attend the Congress session, Ajudhianath and Madan Mohan Malaviya had come to receive him at the railway station.

Lalaji's public life spanned the last decade of the nineteenth century and first three decades of the twentieth century which was a period of political and economic upheavals in human history. It was a period when capitalism and militarism were the dominant forces shaping the destiny of nations and empires. A virulent revulsion against empires and imperialism was felt by Lalaji instinctively. He thought that a transformation in the world system was not possible by eliminating one or two empires or by substituting one empire by another but by abolishing all of them. Until imperialism in all its forms was obliterated there was little hope, he added, of coming into being of a just world order. Having a cosmopolitan outlook, Lalaji looked forward to the emergence of a free Asia and Africa. He empathised with the people of South Africa in their fight against racial discrimination.

While in his teens Lala Lajpat Rai came under the spell of Arya Samaj and its founder Swami Dayanand. It is from them that he imbibed his first lesson in patriotism and pride in his cultural heritage. His contact with Mazzini's writings further gave a boost to his resolve to undergo sufferings and privations for the country's freedom and national unity. And to tell the glorious saga of Italian Risorgimento to the youth of his country, Lajpat Rai penned inspiring biographies of Mazzini and Garibaldi in his Great Men of the World series. During this period the other biographies he wrote were of Shri Krishna, Shivaji, Swami Dayanand and Guru Datta Vidyarthi, a scholar of Sanskrit, and later he wrote a biography of Asoka.

Love for the country and passionate concern for freedom remained the twin motivating and propelling passions throughout his life. Though an ardent nationalist, he considered the good and well-being of the whole humanity as the final touchstone of every nationalist endeavour. What with Mazzini's influence his idea of nationalism immunized him against a parochial self-aggrandizing nationalism on the one hand, and, on the other, against a vague cosmopolitanism.

Admittedly, the goal of Indian nationalism, according to Lalaji, was a world civilization in which the ideas and civilization of every nation could find place. He thought that an increased diversity in the world and an emphasis on diversity of culture could help dismantle the structures of imperialism and hegemonism. He said, 'The world is good and beautiful only with its diversity.' Though he found diversity inevitable in the new world order, he noted, it was not possible to survive in isolation. Communication and interdependence had become compulsory among nations and peoples. He saw the Indian nationalist struggle in world perspective and realized the importance of enlisting the support of other countries in putting pressure of world public opinion on Britain. He formed close contacts with British Labour and Irish nationalist organizations and sought to bring Asian and British Labour closer to each other.

The reform of the Hindu society remained his abiding mission and the removal of untouchability and discrimination in any form anywhere topped his agenda. He called untouchability a blot on Hinduism and an affront to God who resided in every being. Right from his early days he crusaded for its total abolition, and in 1913, presiding over the Depressed Classes Conference, he said: 'We must float or sink with them (untouchables). In their strength is our strength; and in their weakness our fall.' He believed that education would bring about their awakening and make them conscious of their rights and responsibilities. He also gave utmost importance to the cause of the youth, women and children and worked from many platforms for their welfare.

Politics, to Lalaji, was a dynamic and ever-changing phenomenon. He did not believe in absolutes, nor was he wedded to any rigid ideology or dogma.

On questions of vital importance he kept an open mind. He applied canons of strict reasoning not only to political, social and economic issues but also to matters of religion. He opined that 'Reason, rationalism, science and religion have all to be brought into the field before a substantial breach is made in the citadel of superstition and deep-rooted prejudices.' In the controversy between the social reformers and revivalists he opposed the extreme, rigid postures assumed by them. He believed in the process of growth and preserving the national character by assimilating the finest in India's cultural heritage with the best in modern civilization. Since in the Indian context the social questions were so much intertwined with religion that the problem of advancing social reform merely by legislation was a delicate one, he sought the cooperation of all agencies of social reform, science, religion and men of conscience and reason.

Though Lajpat Rai had become *bete noire* of the British bureaucracy very early, he really got involved in the Congress work only at the turn of the century. By 1905 he had come to be recognized as an all-India leader. In May 1907 his deportation to Burma by the Government without a trial created a grave political crisis. The Minto-Morley correspondence amply prove how unwarranted it was, for which the perpetrators of this grievous wrong had to regret later. When he was released, Lalaji found the Indian National Congress torn by a conflict between the moderate and extremist groups. When the extremist group proposed his name for Presidentship of the Congress in 1907 he, with his characteristic self-abnegation, declined the honour in the hope that it might help prevent a split in the party.

In the years preceding the First World War, he remained active in the Congress both in the provincial and national spheres. In 1905 Lajpat Rai was deputed as a Congress delegate to educate British public opinion on the Indian situation. Lajpat Rai visited England in 1908 for the second time and delivered lectures to the Indian students, the British intelligentsia and the working class. In 1914 he again undertook a tour of England, the United States and Japan. In fact, when the war broke out he was in England. He knew that he was likely to be clapped into prison on return to India, and therefore opted for voluntary exile in the United States in order to mobilize public opinion in that country in favour of India's struggle for freedom. In 1920 he returned to India and was accorded a hero's welcome and was elected to preside over the historic Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress. At the session he feelingly spoke on the agony of Punjab, reacting sharply to the ruthless oppression by the British bureaucracy resulting in the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. Soon he came round to Mahatma Gandhi's programme and leadership at the Nagpur Congress session (1920) at which non-violent non-cooperation was accepted as an instrument of struggle. His collaboration with Mahatma Gandhi and his countrywide campaigning evoked unprecedented public response and transformed the

Congress from an upper-class body into a mass movement, thereby changing the very complexion of the nationalist struggle. But in the wake of the Chauri Chaura incident in February 1922, Gandhiji called off civil disobedience and the movement declined. What with factional and communal tensions the mid-twenties were a dismal period in Indian politics. However, there was a political revival in 1928 and Lajpat Rai actively canvassed support for the Nehru Report on the future constitutional set-up of the country. At this time, forgetting all his differences with Motilal Nehru, he was cooperating with him fully both inside and outside the Central Legislative Assembly. When the 'all-white' Simon Commission visited India, he was in the forefront of the agitation for its boycott. It was while he was leading a demonstration against the Commission outside the Lahore railway station that he was assaulted by the police and suffered injuries which led to his death. Lalaji's life had epic dimensions. All his life he lived a hero and in death too he was crowned a martyr. Paying a touching tribute to Lajpat Rai, Gandhiji feelingly wrote in *Young India* of 22 November 1928: 'Men like Lajpat Rai cannot die so long as the sun shines in the Indian sky.'

There was hardly any Indian leader, with the exception of Gandhiji, whose public activities covered such a wide range as those of Lalaji. As Gandhiji put it, 'It is impossible to think of a single public movement in which Lalaji was not to be found.' In 1886 he was associated with the founding of the D.A.V. College at Lahore and out of his income from a lucrative practice at the District Court in Hissar and the Chief Court at Lahore he contributed a lion's share to it. In 1899-1900 when a dreadful famine raged in Punjab, the Central Provinces, Rajputana and the United Provinces, Lajpat Rai planned and implemented the relief work on an extensive scale. He set up several orphanages for deserted children and orphans at many places. To help the downtrodden and the depressed in the Hindu society he spearheaded many campaigns and set up the Kumar Ashram at Meerut to provide free education. From the very beginning Lalaji emphasized the growth of trade and industry and wanted the Congress to hold industrial conferences during its annual sessions. He founded institutions like the Punjab National Bank and the Lakshmi Insurance Company and favoured setting up of indigenous outfits to give a boost to export by Indian traders as against the British entrepreneurs who were making huge profits in the absence of any competition. Lalaji was a great exponent of free and compulsory education, and to inculcate patriotism and nationalism among the youth he delineated a model of national education. He established the Tilak School of Politics for the political training of students and the Servants of the People Society to enlist and train life members vowed to work selflessly for the country.

Lajpat Rai approached the communal problem in a rational and practical manner. He emphasized the need for concentrating on economic and other

interests which were common to various communities rather than harping on their sectarian differences. Setting aside their communal bickerings, he said, their foremost passion should be to 'combine to fight our poverty and ignorance—the common enemies of the whole mankind'. He said since India was not exclusively Hindu, its prosperity and future depended on the reconciliation of Hinduism with the greater 'ism'—the Indian nationalism. In the same vein elsewhere he remarked: 'India is neither Hindu nor Muslim, not even both. It is one. It is India. Let us live and die for each other, so that India may live and prosper as a nation.' He appealed both to the Hindus and Muslims to take pride in the achievements of their common heroes and saints: 'If mother India had an Asoka, she had an Akbar too; if she had a Chaitanya she had a Kabir also. For every Hindu hero, we can cite a Muhammadan hero. We may be as proud of Syed Ahmed Khan as of Rammohun Roy and Dayanand.' What India needed, according to Lalaji, was more of nationalism and tolerance than orthodoxy and bigotry. To resolve the communal tangle his prescription was to integrate the different religions as much as possible by emphasizing the points on which they agreed, by eliminating non-essentials, by restricting the essential differences within the narrowest limits and finally by removing all barriers to free social intercourse between the communities.

To foster the spirit of true nationalism among the people, Lalaji did not favour in the least the idea of annihilation of all nationalities or communal identities but wanted their coming together in a free and equal association, removing all impediments that tended to create a sense of segregation, anomie and alienation among the various groups constituting the nation. For this he favoured correlation of interests sustaining all classes and sections in the nation for the development of a national ethos, a national will and the self-evolving of a higher loyalty, i.e. nationalism.

In the future constitution of India Lalaji enjoined granting of religious liberty to all religious denominations subject only to such restrictions as were inevitable for the maintenance of law and order. To this, he thought, must be added the absolute religious neutrality of the state. This may be seen perhaps as the earliest enunciation of the idea of a secular state in the Indian context.

Realizing the pluralist character of the Indian nation, Lajpat Rai pointed out that the differences among the communities and castes were quite real and to evolve a sound and effective system of governance they must not be ignored. With a deep insight into the nature of the communal problem of India, Lalaji pleaded for accommodating the interests of the different communities within the framework of a united India. Understanding the psychology of communalism, he was willing to make reasonable concessions intended to save Indian polity from disintegrating under the pressure of communal strain. According to him, the character of Indian polity was to be composite, reflective

of regions as well as communities. He strongly resisted sectarian trends, which were being boosted by the British, the revivalists and other communal leaders. Had his line of thinking been accepted, the partition of the country could have been averted.

In a memorial tribute published in *Young India*, Gandhiji wrote: 'He (Lajpat Rai) was sincerely desirous of promoting and achieving Hindu-Muslim unity. He wanted not Hindu Raj but he passionately wanted Indian Raj; he wanted all who called themselves Indians to have absolute equality.' The constitution of free India that Lalaji envisaged was to be secular in outlook, federal in structure and pluralistic in character. The ideals of social justice, equality of opportunity, freedom and democracy were to be the imperatives of the polity after India gained freedom.

Among the leaders of the freedom struggle, Lalaji was a widely travelled person and befittingly called the 'cultural ambassador of India'. Realizing the importance of world public opinion, Lalaji undertook these travels to publicize India's case in America, Britain and other countries as well as at international assemblies like the International Labour Organization and the World Parliaments Union at Geneva and the World Migration Conference in London. During these visits he came in contact with many British, American and other statesmen and opinion leaders and made an abiding friendship with some of them. He corresponded with many British leaders like Ramsay MacDonald, Col. Josiah C. Wedgwood, William Wedderburn, Sir Henry Cotton, Henry M. Hyndman, George Lansbury, Benjamin Spoor and the Webbs. He also established rapport with Keir Hardie, Fredrick Mackarness, V.H. Rutherford and other Labour leaders.

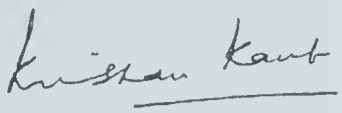
Lalaji also founded and edited newspapers and journals and was a prolific writer and builder of institutions. He launched the English weeklies, *The Panjabee* and *The People*, and the Urdu daily, *Bande Mataram*, and made them powerful instruments of national awakening. He founded the Indian Home Rule League of America in October 1917 and launched *Young India*, a monthly, as the official organ of the League. He also set up the Indian Information Bureau in New York with himself as its Director to serve the cause of India's freedom. During his enforced stay in America, besides travelling from coast to coast and delivering lectures on the Indian situation, he authored some of his notable books—*The United States of America*, *England's Debt to India*, *National Education* and *Young India*. His *Unhappy India*, published in 1928, contained by far the best and most scathing refutation of Miss Mayo's scurrilous attacks on Indian society as given in her book, *Mother India*.

To realize a peaceful international order Lalaji emphasized the need for building up self-governing communities free from every form of exploitation with all segments of society enjoying equal opportunities of good life and

growth. Mutual cooperation, respect for each other's culture and interaction on terms of equality were the pre-requisites of a just international order, and to achieve this, he said, democracy, political and social, at all levels was to spread and inform the world order. He envisioned a pivotal role of free India in the emerging international system which was to be that of an active, cooperative and constructive member of the global fraternity—a role in the cause of world peace the realization of a truly democratic world order.

I trust the publication of this series of the *Collected Works of Lala Lajpat Rai* edited by Shri B.R. Nanda, noted historian of modern India, and biographer of Gandhi, Nehru and Gokhale as the Chief Editor and Dr Madan Gopal Gandhi, an eminent social scientist and litterateur as the Editor, will contribute to a better understanding not only of Lala Lajpat Rai's life and work but also of some important phases in India's struggle for freedom.

New Delhi
25 July, 2002



(KRISHAN KANT)

EDITORIAL NOTE

The fact that this volume opens in 1884, when Lajpat Rai was nearly nineteen years old, requires some explanation. Lajpat Rai's private papers are not available. Some of these papers were destroyed in his lifetime as a result of police searches, and a family dispute after his death. But the bulk of the correspondence was lost in 1947 during the upheaval caused by the partition of India. The absence of this primary material is a severe handicap. Fortunately, however, Lajpat Rai from his early youth was extraordinarily articulate and eager to share his thoughts with others through the medium of the press. So, we have been able to include in this volume his letters contributed to newspapers and articles to journals, pamphlets, and extracts from the books he wrote during the period covered by this volume. They shed light not only on his activities but also on his own intellectual development.

During the seventeen years, 1884-1900, covered by this volume, Lajpat Rai's main interest, besides his legal work at the Lahore Chief Court, was in the Arya Samaj. In order to understand his enthusiasm for this work, it is important to sketch his family background as well as the social milieu in which he grew up. His father, Munshi Radha Kishan, studied in the local vernacular school at Jagraon, a small town in Punjab, and became a teacher at the paltry salary of Rs. 25 a month. He acquired great proficiency in Urdu and Persian, and was a great admirer of Islam. As a child, Lajpat Rai learnt to recite the Quran, say *namaz* and observe the Ramzan fasts with his father. However, in 1881 when he was sent for higher education to Lahore, he rebelled against his father's ideas. Among his fellow students in the Government College, Lahore, there were some brilliant and high-minded young men, such as Guru Datta Vidyarthi and Hans Raj, who were ardent adherents of the Arya Samaj and had a tremendous influence on him. In December 1882, Lajpat Rai joined the Arya Samaj.

The appeal of the Arya Samaj to these young men, who were receiving western education in Punjab and were on the threshold of their careers, can only be appreciated if we take into account the social climate of the time. The Arya Samaj satisfied a deep and long-felt psychological need of the emerging English-educated class. Throughout the nineteenth century Hinduism had been on the defensive, believing itself to be beleaguered by erosion from within and assaults from without. 'There is not,' wrote the British-owned *Friend of India* in 1863, 'an Englishman in India, who would not look upon the entire Christianization of our native subjects as a great political gain. There are few who do not believe that the accomplishment of this result is only a work of

time.' Experienced British observers openly affirmed that English education, railways, and modern communications would undermine Hinduism. Professor William Wordsworth of Bombay's Elphinstone College wrote in 1876 that the activities of Christian missionaries were widening the breach between the rulers and the ruled. Since the principal target of the missionaries' proselytizing effort was Hinduism, it was the Hindu community which felt threatened; both Christianity and Islam were making converts at its expense. The response of the western-educated Hindus to the challenge was twofold: efforts at internal reform and a reassertion of their religious identity. In the mid-1890s there were signs of a religious revival. 'A dozen years ago,' the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* wrote on 14 October 1895, 'when educated men sat together they talked of politics; now, generally speaking, they talk of religion.'

Swami Dayanand Saraswati, founder of the Arya Samaj, who died in 1883, had denounced polytheism, idolatry and superstitious beliefs and rites in contemporary Hinduism, and expounded a non-idolatrous monotheism which appealed to the western-educated Hindus as a defence against the attack from both Christianity and Islam. In his biography of Swami Dayanand, which Lajpat Rai wrote in 1898, the Swami is portrayed as a 'saviour of the *Vedic* religion' who had 'infused new life into a dying race', lifted a great religion 'from the pit of darkness', brought out a great language—Sanskrit—from oblivion, and inspired the Hindus to come out of their 'hidebound orthodoxy'. Swami Dayanand sought not only to revive the '*Vedic* religion' in its pristine purity, but also to purge Hindu society of the mumbo-jumbo which an entrenched priestly class had created and such abuses as untouchability and child marriage.

Lajpat Rai had joined the Arya Samaj at the age of seventeen, but it was while practising law at Rohtak and Hissar that he took part in its activities. After moving to Lahore in 1892 to practise at the Chief Court, his interest came to be focused on educational activities of the Arya Samaj. He was one of the founders of the D.A.V. College at Lahore and the secretary of its managing committee. He quickly tired of theological disputations, and was repelled by metaphysical hair-splitting and dogmatism. When a split occurred in the Arya Samaj in 1893, he joined the College Party rather than the 'Mahatmas', who held strong views on doctrinal issues and even on such matters as vegetarianism. Lajpat Rai enjoyed working for the D.A.V. College. He found time—amidst his work at the Bar—to write a book on his college friend, Guru Datta Vidyarthi, and to take history classes, and wrote a short history of India, and five books in his series—*Great Men of the World.* All of these books except one (on Guru Datta Vidyarthi) were written in Urdu, which was the medium of instruction in the Punjab and U.P. schools and was understood by the masses. 'I had a penchant for research,' Lajpat Rai wrote in his preface to his book on Shivaji, 'in and

study of the history of my country even before writing this book. Now I find my keenness for it ever increasing.' He went so far as to say that he might spend the remaining part of his life in studying the history of the Indian people. Little did he know that politics, not history, was to dominate his life.

Lajpat Rai had made his first foray into national politics at the Allahabad session of the Indian National Congress in December 1888. He had shot into fame with his reasoned and cogent refutation of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's indictment of the Congress in 'Open Letters' to him in the pages of *The Tribune* of Lahore. The twenty-two-year-old lawyer, from the backwoods of Punjab, was received by some senior leaders of the Congress at Allahabad railway station when he arrived to attend the Congress meeting. He was called upon to second an important resolution in the plenary session of the Congress on the reform of legislative councils. Quoting from the Urdu writings of venerable Sir Syed, he said, 'This most loyal of Indian Mahomedans who now stigmatizes us as traitors, thirty years ago, demanded for India reforms of the same character as we now, after thirty years of education and progress, pray for in this resolution.' Lajpat Rai attended the next Congress session in Bombay in 1889 and had again the honour of addressing it on the representation of minorities in elective bodies.

It seems strange that after such a conspicuous presence at two successive Congress sessions, Lajpat Rai did not put in an appearance at the Congress sessions in the next decade except in 1893 and 1900 when both the sessions were held at Lahore. In the 1893 session he moved a vote of thanks to the President of the session, Dadabhai Naoroji; in the 1900 session, he piloted a resolution for setting apart half a day each year for discussion of industrial and economic issues.

Lajpat Rai's absence from the Congress sessions in the 1890s may have been due to the fact that, the Congress, after an impressive start, had lost its steam. On the other hand, it is possible that Lajpat Rai's own hands were full, what with the professional work at the Lahore Bar, and the problems of the D.A.V. College, and such humanitarian work as relief for famine-stricken areas and organization of Hindu orphanages. Of one thing, however, there is no doubt: Lajpat Rai had not lost the patriotic fervour which he had evinced in the late eighties at the Congress sessions. We can see this in the letters he shot off to the editor of *The Tribune* from time to time. While practising in the district court at Hissar he had the courage to publicly expose a civilian, apparently a British, judge who was in the habit of writing his judgments before he had listened to the arguments of the pleaders. Lajpat Rai used the correspondence columns of the newspapers to flay the entire judicial system as it was functioning in India. Perhaps his most audacious letter to *The Tribune* was his verdict on

British rule. 'Englishmen in India are fast becoming unworthy representatives of a great and worthy nation,' he wrote, 'because any Native who took part in public affairs is becoming an eyesore to the average Anglo-Indian here.' He conceded that the British had given India a great literature, a free press and the right of holding public meetings and many other things, but he affirmed that 'looked at from the European or modern points of view, the present system of governing India is not all that could be desired. . . . It is too backward to be compared with any of the systems in force in the most backward of the European countries.'

Lajpat Rai's patriotic fervour also comes through some of the books he wrote during this period. Written in simple Urdu, these books were addressed to students in schools and colleges as well as to the general public. Out of the five books in his series of *Great Men of the World*, published between 1896 and 1900, two were on Mazzini and Garibaldi. He explained that he had chosen these Italian heroes, because 'in today's India, most people prefer all things foreign. Due to the foreign rule in India, a foreign language, a foreign lexicon, foreign clothes and foreign manners and etiquette are there in the country. There is hardly anything that does not have the impress of foreigners. Therefore, I thought I should present to you books on the two much venerated heroes of a foreign country.' As we read these biographies, it becomes obvious that through the choice of Italian patriots who had fought for Italian freedom and unity, he was also conveying a subtle message to his Indian readers.

'The rule of a foreign power,' Lajpat Rai wrote, 'howsoever good, efficient and benevolent, is undesirable and tantamount to one man putting the yoke of slavery on the neck of another man. . . . If a subjugated nation fails to rebel against such aggrandizement it only shows that long-term slavery has impaired its sense of self-respect.' 'History cannot forget,' he added, 'that in the nineteenth century brave young sons of Italy, without caring for the safety of their lives or for their comforts, made all possible sacrifices and freed their motherland. It is beyond the imagination of the inhabitants of enslaved countries that they would ever become free until an ardent patriot comes on the scene whose sole mission in life is to liberate his country. He places his mission before his countrymen, loud and clear, as if by the beating of the drum. No travail he suffers is too great for him. Every hardship disappears before his dauntless courage and as if waking up from a bad dream the country falls into step with him and gains freedom.' As Lajpat Rai wrote these lines, one wonders whether he was beginning to cherish the ambition of becoming an Indian Mazzini. It is significant that in the very year in which Lajpat Rai wrote books on Mazzini and Garibaldi he decided to curtail his professional engagements. He had for a decade devoted all the time he could spare from the Lahore Chief Court to

educational and humanitarian work. But he had not forgotten the advice of his college friend, Guru Datta Vidyarthi, a brilliant scholar, well-versed in Sanskrit and Hindu religion and philosophy, and Assistant Professor of science in the Government College, Lahore. Guru Datta Vidyarthi died in 1890 at the age of twenty-six. He was Lajpat Rai's best friend and confidant in his formative years. He warned Lajpat Rai against being overwhelmed by professional ambition and domestic responsibilities. He told Lajpat Rai that he had known many students who had proposed to themselves many schemes and plans for the regeneration of their country, but their idealism deserted them once they entered their professions; the lure of money and a comfortable life proved irresistible. He advised Lajpat Rai not to forget his country. 'Fame is a wonderful impetus. But my dear sir, don't pant after fame. Do solid good to your country . . . work silently and then the fame of posterity shall be your reward.'

By the turn of the century Lajpat Rai had reached his moment of truth. He had to decide whether he would continue to go on with his lucrative legal practice or take a plunge into public life. He could perhaps do something more than dabble in educational and social work. He heard the call of the country. As we shall see in the next volumes politics were calling.

The material published in this volume has been drawn largely from *The Tribune*, *The Regenerator of Aryavarta* and the *Arya Patrika*, all three being weeklies published from Lahore, and *Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab* and *Reports of the Indian National Congress*. The papers of the D.A.V. College Managing Committee, Lahore, were consulted in the Nehru Memorial Museum & Library and a tract written by Lajpat Rai on the teaching of Sanskrit in the D.A.V. College, Lahore, was procured from the Punjab Municipal Library, Lahore. As regards the books written by him during this period, extracts from the biographies of Mazzini, Garibaldi, Shivaji, Swami Dayanand and Shri Krishna have been published in this volume; the biography of Guru Datta Vidyarthi has been published in full.

I am grateful to the Directors and staff of the Nehru Memorial Museum & Library and the National Archives of India for extending full cooperation to us. The Cambridge Brotherhood Library, Delhi, the Dwarka Das Library, Chandigarh, and the Punjab Municipal Library, Lahore, also provided necessary help to us.

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It is a matter of great regret for us that Dr. Hari Dev Sharma who was associated with the project since its inception and took pains to expedite the work passed away in August 2000 and could not see this volume in print.

B.R.N.

1
OPEN LETTERS TO SIR SYED AHMED KHAN

1. Open Letter to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan[1]

Sir, Would you excuse me if I encroach upon your precious time for a short while? Before I address you on my *matlab*, I think it advisable to state for your information that I have been a constant reader and admirer of your writings. From childhood, I was taught to respect the opinions and the teachings of the white-bearded Syed[2] of Aligarh. Your *Social Reformer* was constantly read to me by my fond father[3] who looked upon you as no less than a prophet of the nineteenth century. Your writings in the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, and your speeches in Council and other public meetings, were constantly studied by me and kept up as a sacred trust by my revered parent. It was thus that I came to know that you once approved of the contents of John Stuart Mill's[4] book, *On Liberty*, and it was thus that I came to know (if my memory does not deceive me) that the present Chief Justice of Hyderabad[5] (a staunch opponent of the National Movement) once translated Jeremy Bentham's[6] *Principles of Utility* for the readers of your *Social Reformer*. Is it strange then that I have been

1. Published in *The Tribune* of 27 October 1888.
   In this section are printed four open letters addressed by Lajpat Rai to "Sir Syed Ahmed Khan Bahadur, K.C.S.I." These letters written at Hissar did not appear under his name but as from "the son of an old follower of yours", as he observed, he "felt some compunction in openly entering the lists against so great a man." Originally written in Urdu, these letters were first published in the Urdu weekly of Lahore, *Koh-i-Nur*. Shortly before the Allahabad Congress they were translated into English and serialised in *The Tribune*, and later printed in the form of a pamphlet.
2. Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898); an eminent Muslim leader, scholar, educationist and politician who first supported the Congress but later turned against it; started career as a judicial officer under the East India Company in 1838 and retired as a Subordinate Judge in 1878; made Honorary Fellow of Royal Asiatic Society in 1864; founded Translation Society in 1864 which later was renamed as the Scientific Society; started *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, a bilingual (Urdu and English) weekly, in 1866 and *Tahzib-al-Akhlaq* (*Social Reformer*) in 1870; founded the Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College in 1875 which later became the Aligarh Muslim University; member, Indian Legislative Council, 1878-82; knighted in 1888; works include *The Causes of the Indian Revolt* and *Indian Mussalmans*.
3. Munshi Radha Kishan (1845-1923)
4. (1806-1873); English philosopher, economist and exponent of utilitarianism; works include *Principles of Political Economy* (1848), *On Liberty* (1859) and *Subjection of Women* (1869).
5. Mehdi Hasan Khan, who was given the title of Fateh Nawaz Jang by the Nizam, was the Chief Justice of Hyderabad in 1888.
6. (1748-1832); English utilitarian philosopher, economist and theoretical jurist; propounded that the object of legislation must be "the greatest good of the greatest number"; started *Westminster Review* in 1924 to spread the principles of philosophic radicalism; works include *Fragment on Government* (1776), *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1789) and *Manual of Political Economy* (1798).

astonished to read what you now speak and write about the "National Congress"?[7] Any person in my circumstances would shout out—"Times have changed and convictions gone. Flattery and official *khushamad* have blinded the eyes of the most far-seeing, cowardice has depressed the souls of the foremost of seekers after truth, and high-sounding titles and the favours of wordly Governors have extinguished the fire of truth burning in many a noble heart. Is it not a sad spectacle to see that men whose days are numbered, whose feet are almost in the grave, are trying to root out all the trees planted with their own hands!!!"

Under these circumstances, Syed Sahib, is it not strange, if I ask what has been the cause of this miserable change in you? Old age and exhaustion of faculties may perhaps have some share in causing you to forget all what you once wrote and spoke. Has your memory lost its retentiveness or is it the imbecility due to age which prompts you to suchlike acts of tomfoolery? If the former, I, from amongst your old admirers, will take this duty upon myself to remind you of what in moments of wisdom was sketched by your pen or tongue and this duty, I promise, I will fulfil with the utmost pleasure and feelings of highest satisfaction.

I will begin with your book on the *Causes of the Indian Revolt* which was written in 1858, though translated and published in English in the year 1873. It may be worth while to note here that the translators of this were no others than Sir Auckland Colvin, the present Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Lieutenant-Colonel Graham, the writer of your biography.[8] In this book, after having tried to prove that the mutiny of 1857 was no "religious war" nor the result of a pre-concerted conspiracy, you say that "most men, I believe, agree in thinking that it is highly conducive to the welfare and prosperity of Government—indeed it is essential to its stability—that the people should have a voice in its Councils. It is from the voice of the people that Government can learn whether its projects are likely to be well received. The voice of the people can alone check errors in the bud and warn us of dangers before they burst upon and destroy us." To make the matter more clear, you go on saying that "this voice, however, can never be heard, and this security never acquired unless the people are allowed a share in the consultations of Government. . . .

7. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, addressing a meeting of Muslims at Lucknow on 28 December 1887, for the first time criticized the Congress demand for the introduction of representative government, which, he said, would mean subjugation of Muslims to Hindus who were in a majority. He also exhorted the Muslims to remain aloof from the Congress and align themselves with the Government in order to secure their interest.
8. *The Life and Work of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan* written by Lieut. Col. G.F.I. Graham was published in 1885.

The security of a Government, it will be remembered, is founded on its knowledge of the character of the governed as well as on its careful observance of their rights and privileges." These are noble words, nobly spoken; words of sterling honesty and independence of spirit. Can they bear any other meaning than what can be attached to that resolution of the National Congress which prays for the introduction of a representative element into the constitution of our Legislative Councils?[9] Pray, tell me how can the people have a voice in the Councils of a Government if not by representation? How can the people of a country have their voice constantly heard if not through their representatives? But to leave no doubts on the subject, I will go on giving quotation after quotation in proof of my assertion, that you have once advocated the introduction of representative element in the Legislative Councils of India. After laying much stress upon the necessity of a Government respecting the opinions of the people it governs, you say, "The evils which resulted to India from the non-admission of natives into the Legislative Councils of India were various. . . . It (i.e. the Government) could never hear, as it ought to have heard, the voice of the people on the laws and regulations which it passed." Again you say that "But the greatest mischief lay in this that the people misunderstood the views and the intentions of the Government. They misapprehended every act." After this you proceed to say that if Hindustanis would have been in the Legislative Councils, they would have explained everything to their countrymen and thus these evils which have happened to us would have been averted. In your opinion, as expressed there, this non-representation of the voice of the governed in the Legislative Councils of the realm was "the one great cause" of the "origin of all smaller causes of dissatisfaction." No, to leave no doubts in the matter and to prove that in the book you even go to the length of saying that your countrymen should be selected to form an assembly like the English Parliament, which demand at the time you advanced it was certainly more premature than it now is when the National Congress, with all the advantages that the country has had of education and enlightenment after that wretched year of 1858, only advocates the partial introduction of representative element in the Legislative Councils, I shall give some more extracts from the same.

There you say that "I do not wish to enter here into the question as to how the ignorant and uneducated Natives of Hindustan could be allowed a share in the deliberations of the Legislative Council or as to how they should be selected to form an Assembly like the English Parliament. These are knotty points. All I wish to prove here is that such a step is not only advisable but absolutely necessary, and that the disturbances are due to the neglect of such a measure."

9. A resolution to this effect had been passed by the Congress at its Madras session held in December 1887 and also at the previous session held at Calcutta.

Could clearer words be used than what have been quoted above? Is there any doubt as to their meaning, because if so I will be obliged to quote the exact Hindustani words used by you to express the ideas propounded in the above lines. No, I do not suppose you can feel any doubt on that point, because the English rendering was undertaken by no others than Sir Auckland Colvin and Lieutenant-Colonel Graham, the former of whom at least is now being proclaimed (whether rightly or wrongly, God knows) to be the deadliest enemy of the National Congress. Sir Syed, does it not sound strange that the writer of the above words should reckon himself as the leader of the anti-Congress movement? Is it not one more proof of India's misfortune that the writer of the above words should impute bad motives to the supporters of the National Congress, mainly because they advocate the introduction of some sort of representation in the Legislative Councils of India? Is not your charge of sedition against the promoters of the Congress in the face of these words a mere mockery, a contradiction in terms? Thirty years ago you advocated the institution of a Parliament and yet you chide us saying that we want an Indian Parliament, notwithstanding that we protest that, for the present and for long, long time to come, we do not claim any such thing. Mark the difference. India is no longer what it was 30 years ago. In the course of this period it has cut its mark in progressive civilization. Almost all natives of India are no longer ignorant or uneducated. The rays of education are piercing and shedding their wholesome light on almost all Indian homes, and we see dozens of our countrymen every year crossing the black waters to see the great British Parliament of the English nation. Can you in the face of these words still call us *seditious*? According to your writings, we are the most loyal subjects of the Government, and if, notwithstanding what you have written, you still desire to be called "the ablest of our loyal Mahomedan gentlemen," why, we deserve to be styled "the ablest of the most loyal subjects of the English Government." To give a still more clear idea of what you thought about the suitability of India to this sort of Government, I give one more extract to the point and then will have done with your old writings for the present. After giving many arguments in proof of your claim that the law which allowed the sales of land for arrears of Government revenue was also one cause of the outbreak of disturbances in 1858 you say, "A landed estate in Hindustan is very like a kingdom. It has always been the practice to elect one man as the head over all. By him matters requiring discussion are 'brought forward' (mind, not decided) and every shareholder, in proportion to his holding, has the power of speaking out his mind on the point." You are wrong when you say "in proportion to his holding." However, to let it remain as it, is, you proceed and record, "The cultivators and the *choudhries* of the villages attend on such an occasion and say whatever they have to say. . . . You have here in fact in great perfection a miniature kingdom parliament."

How is it that now you have changed your mind and come to opine that these kingdoms, as you called them, should have no voice in the making of laws which affect their personal property and reputation?

Vain mortal man! Thy frailties and thy inconsistencies are but an index to thy imperfect nature? They are only so many A, B, C, D, to thy fall. Thy curiosity to relish the forbidden fruit caused thy degradation and the eternal misery of children.

Some persons insinuate that these writings came from an honest, uncorrupted mind at a time when the writer had no prospect of being raised to the Legislative Council by mere favour. No, Sir Syed, no, I on my own part do not want to make such an insinuation against the fearless writer of those noble words which have been quoted above.

Then the problem to be solved remains the same, viz. why this change, why this inconsistency? I pause for a reply with a promise of more in my next, and, in the meanwhile, beg to be allowed to subscribe myself,

The Son of an Old Follower of Yours

2. Open Letter to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan[1]

Sir, It is full two weeks now since my first letter was published, and, I think, I have waited long enough for the reply which it seems you have no mind to send. However, in fulfilment of my promise, I am bound to go on giving quotation after quotation, bringing home to you your own former political teachings, and I hope I shall be able clearly to prove that you once believed in all the principles upon which the different resolutions of the National Congress are based. This will leave you no alternative but either an open and unreserved confession of your apostasy, or an unreserved retreat from politics.

Do not, Sir Syed, you think that I shall rest satisfied with the publication of these letters in India. No, they will be duly published and distributed in free England, side by side with the pamphlets of your own pet association of yesterday.[2]

In the same book (i.e. *The Causes of the Indian Revolt*), you say:

1 Published in *The Tribune* of 17 November 1888.

2. The reference was to the United Indian Patriotic Association formed by Syed Ahmed Khan at Aligarh in August 1888 with the object of carrying on propaganda, through newspapers and pamphlets, in England against the Congress, and in India to strengthen British rule and wean the people away from the Congress.

"Government were but slightly acquainted with the unhappy state of the people. How could it well be otherwise? There was no real communication between the Government and the governed, no living together or near one another, as has always been the custom of Mahomedans in countries which they subjected to their rule. Government and its officials have never adopted the course without which no real knowledge of the people can be gained". Further on you say that "this cannot be expected from the English as they almost all look forward to retirement in their native land, and seldom settle for good amongst the natives of India."

Now, I take the boldness to ask, has there been any improvement of late in this direction? Have the majority or even one-third of the retired English officers permanently settled in India? On the contrary, we find that they are birds of passage just as much now as, or perhaps more than, they were when the above sentences were written. Then, have the Englishmen and the natives taken to living together or near one another? Do you ever see Englishmen living in the *Mahallas* of your towns, however large the town or however respectable the *Mahalla* may be? None of the Englishmen have ever been seen doing that. In fact, their mode of living is so peculiar that they cannot. Or, do you think that the point has been gained by a few Anglicised natives like yourself having taken to living in bungalows? If that is what you argue, I assure you, you are sadly mistaken. Your living in *Kothis* cannot be said to be a gain to native society. It is rather, if I may be allowed to say so, a very severe and deplorable loss. In the sentence quoted above, you admit that living together or near one another enhances our sympathies and gives us more occasions of seeing, mixing with, and obtaining more intimate knowledge of, each other. It is thus clear that Europeans can only know us best if they see us in our native homes, in our small thatched huts full of misery and sickness. How poor and miserable India is, they can feel only if they live among or near the houses of agriculturists, and there see with their own eyes respectable native families sleeping in rooms into which the English sweeper would not like to step. Why is this? Is it because Indians do not know how to live? Now, if you say that, go to those Indian residences which are occupied by the richest of our countrymen, and then you will find that our mode of living is more splendid than yours. You will ask then how it is that I say that respectable natives live in buildings which should be properly called dungeons. The answer is, because they are poor and cannot afford to build comfortable houses. Taxation is so high that they never feel themselves secure of their respectability. In fact, it is always in danger. The poor fellows are daily and nightly engaged in making the two ends meet; what I mean to say is that the fact of your or a few other natives having taken to living in bungalows and copying the English customs of eating and drinking

and dressing cannot do any good either to India or to England. In fact, by this they can never know the unhappy state of the people. Then the question is, how can the Government know the wants and wishes of its subjects? They cannot know them through official reports, because these reports are almost all prepared by persons who seldom see the real state of the people whom the report concerns. You yourself said that "But even these officials themselves were *ignorant* of the real thoughts and opinions of the people, because they had no means of getting at them" (vide your biography by Colonel Graham, p. 49). Then, can the Government get this knowledge through the petitions of their subjects? I say, as you said—no. You said that these petitions "were", and I say they are, "seldom if ever attended to and sometimes never heard (vide the same page of your biography). I add to this that even if they are ever attended to, enquiry into the allegations made in them is often entrusted to the same officials whose conduct forms the subject of complaint. Their reports are taken to be the gospel truth and the petitions are thrown out.

Then, can the Government know the real opinion of the people through the native press? No, because the Government officials have always been known to be hostile to it, and to assert that these papers represent nobody but themselves.

Public meetings even are not effectual because that is declared to be the work of professional agitators, stump orators and wire-pullers.

Then the question is that, admitting, as you do, that it is essential for the purpose of good government that the people should have a voice in the consultations of the Government, how should that voice reach the Council Chambers, and how should the people be consulted before laws are passed? You once said that "Laws affecting the subjects should be made after consultation with the representatives of the people—*ba salah wa mashwarah riyaya ke naibon ke*—(*vide Social Reformer* of the 15th *Shawwal*, 1290 *Hijri*, equivalent to 6th December 1873 A.D., p. 163), and there cannot be any other answer to this question." Further on you said: "I am very sorry that this is not being done in India, and in not doing so Government is in error to a certain degree, but in a larger measure it is owing to the incompetency of subjects, but I am confident that after a certain period *(baad chand roz)* sufficient education will remove both." (Vide the same journal, same page.) It is fifteen years now, Sir, when the above lines were written, and it is, surely, time to ask, or, at least, to consider, whether that period or *chand roz*, to speak in your own words, has not expired yet. I am ready to concede, though it may be for argument's sake only, that the period has expired, but are we not making steady progress towards the desired end? Your objections, unfortunately, are not based upon considerations of time, but they are given out as matters of principle. Then admitting, as you do, that this voice can only reach the Council Chambers

through the representatives of the people, the only question to be solved is—who should be those representatives or, in other words, how should they acquire that position? Can men like Rajah Shiva Prashad[3] and yourself be properly considered as representatives of the people, and can the method of selection, by which you were sent to the Council Chamber, be accepted as of any value? I think no reasonable man will say that it was possible, if Rajah Shiva Prashad had been an elected representative of the people of India, that he could have libelled the whole Indian nation in his notorious speech on the Ilbert Bill.[4] Could Raja Peary Mohan Mukerjea[5] and other native members have consented to the raising of the Salt tax if they had thought their fate depended on the voices of the people, whose throats were to be cut down by that obnoxious rather inhumane measure etc. etc.?[6] Then the correct solution is this and no other, that the people must be represented by their own elected delegates, of course, subject to the restrictions to be imposed by the Government. Co-sharers in the business of governing or legislating, these representatives must be such as to be totally independent of official approval or disapproval. If the selection of members for the Legislative Council is to be entrusted to officials, I say it is a downright farce, and there can be no representation. The majority of the quotations given above come from a book which was written about 30 years ago, and you may find an excuse by saying that the state of the people has since then undergone a mighty change, and therefore the remedies then suggested are no longer suitable. My dear Sir, this reply cannot stand a moment's examination. I am going to show that in 1881, which is only seven years ago, you held the same views and felt rather proud of them. When it was proposed to raise the old Punjab University College to the status of a University, you were one of the foremost opponents. You, your admirers and followers, should not have forgotten that you wrote these articles under the heading of "Our Vernacular", and got them published and circulated in pamphlet form. These articles were published in almost all the leading vernacular papers of Northern India, and the educated community of the Punjab, who were strongly opposed

3. Raja Shiva Prasad (1823-1895); landlord of Varanasi; served in the Foreign Department, Government of India; nominated to Indian Legislative Council in 1883.
4. Speaking on the Criminal Procedure Code (Amendment) Bill, known as the Ilbert Bill, in the Indian Legislative Council on 9 March 1883, Raja Shiva Prasad had remarked that Indians had not been just and fair in their dealings with the people of other races. The Bill sought to remove the distinction between Indian and European magistrates with regard to their powers to try European offenders.
5. A zamindar of Bengal and prominent member of the British Indian Association; nominated to Indian Legislative Council in 1884 and 1886.
6. The Salt tax was raised in 1886.

to the establishment of a University on the lines suggested by Dr. Leitner,[7] got a strong support from the writings of "the ablest of the loyal Mahomedan gentlemen." In one of them (paper 2nd, perhaps), which was published in your *Social Reformer* for 1897-98 *Hijri*, (equivalent to 1881), at p.135 you say: "National progress and National Government are both sisters born of the same mother. When a Nation loses its independence, its progress only depends upon its learning the language and the sciences of its Conquerors and thus taking a part in the Government of the country. . . . By way of flattery whatever may be said, and as a matter of policy whatever may be stated, the fact is that *in reality the relations of Hindustanis with their rulers are no better than those of slaves with their masters*." The italics are mine. I have tried to give a faithful translation of your Urdu sentences, but if I have erred, I hope to be excused and my mistake will be pointed out. However, to satisfy the scruples of sceptical readers, I prefer to give the last portion of the sentence in Roman characters and leave you to judge for yourself whether the rendering is correct or not. The original words are: "*Khushamad ki baten jo chahe kah le, aur political tariqe men jo kuchh beyan karna ho, keya jawe, magar Hindustanion ka hal apni fatahmand qaum ke sath gulami ke halat se kuchh ziyada nahin hai.*" In the same article, further on, you said that the "University College was being raised to the status of a University with the object of throwing obstacles in the way of our National advancement and that the result of the clamour after Oriental studies could be nothing but that of keeping ourselves in the state of serfdom. (*Iska natija yehi hai ki gulami ki halat men rahte rahiye.*)"

Sir Syed, would you still call us "seditious"? Remember that we are the product of that education which you so strongly recommended and which you have never been known to condemn. Our English education, the study of eminent European minds and European sciences (alas! you cannot feel that) have expanded our souls and we can no longer be selfish *Sat Bachnia* prodigies of your Oriental language. Sir, your fall seems to remind me of the fall of Adam. Just as Satan is said to be the cause of the fall of that progenitor of our race, this seeking after worldly honours seems to be the real explanation of your decline. It is nothing to you because your turn in this world must at no very distant period expire; but to us, who are yet to live long and to fight out the bloodless battle of liberty, it is destined to remain a permanent disgrace. The line of argument would be that the races which produce such inconsistent philosophers are not fit to be given the boon of Local Self-Government. Sir Syed, if you have changed your political opinions, the sooner you announce it, the better it is both for yourself and ourselves. It is simply childish to persist in

7. G.W. Leitner (1840-1899); the Principal of Punjab University College, Lahore, favoured reviving ancient oriental learning and promoting vernacular studies.

your claim of consistency in the face of the above quotations. Better announce this change and explain why and how this took place.

Again pausing for a reply with a promise of more in my next, I beg to subscribe myself,

Yours, &c.,
The Son of an Old Follower of Yours

3. Open Letter to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan[1]

Sir, Well may we apply the opening sentence of Dickens's *Tale of Two Cities* to the present times in India. Well may we say that it is "the best of times" as well as "the worst of times". Best, as the country is on the point of having a nation, worst, as a particular section of the community wants to check the progress of the country and unfortunately is headed, or at least is said to be headed, by a man who has been a frequent advocate of representative government in India. It is "the age of wisdom" as the country has risen from its deep lethargy and made up its mind to assist the Government by wise counsels. It is "the age of foolishness" as a particular party has the audacity to believe that their opposition will cause the national movement to die in its infancy. It is "the epoch of belief" because the different sectional interests have come to believe in each other's sincerity; it is "the epoch of incredulity" because you, Sir, are said to be against the introduction of a representative element in the Legislative Councils of India. It is the "spring of hope" when we see eminent English statesmen advocating the rights of the dumb millions of India. It is the "winter of despair" when we see her own sons deserting the cause of awakened India.

Sir Syed, I must remind you that it is the same India for the welfare of whose sons you established the "Siddor's Union Club"[2] at Aligarh. Do you remember, Sir, that in that Club the alumni of the Mahomedan College were trained in the art of discussing public matters in public councils. I ask you, Sir, why you established that Club? Why did you formulate those rules of discussion which predict the establishment of representative institutions in the country?

1. This letter dated 22 November 1888 was published in *The Tribune* of 5 December 1888.
2. This Club was established as a debating society at the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, on the model of the Cambridge University Union.

Oh, if we had only known that it was to end in this!!! I feel that I have gone astray and must look to those extracts from your writings and sayings so dear to me, which foretold the establishment of representative Councils in India.

Will you please turn to page 49 of your biography by Lieutenant-Colonel Graham where you are ascribed as saying: "The people were isolated, they had no champion to stand up for their rights and to see justice done to them and they were constrained to weep in silence." Can you in the face of these words still say that the people never needed such champions, and that the Government has been doing and will go on doing without demand what it has thought and what it will think necessary for the welfare of the people? That it never needed the voice of such champions for the redress of grievances and the granting of boons? Having pointed out what the Government ought to have done to make itself popular (quotations as to which have been given in letters Nos. I and II), you said in the end of the same book, *The Causes of the Indian Revolt*, that "it was necessary for the Government to win the friendship and the good feeling of its subjects." Further on you said: "As yet, truth compels me to state, Government has not cultivated the friendship of its people as was its duty to do. . . . The father loves his child before the child loves him. . . . If a man of low degree tries to win the esteem of one in high position he is liable to be styled a flatterer and not a friend. It was, therefore, for Government to try and win the friendship of its subjects, not for the subjects to try and win that of the Government. . . . If Government say that what I say is untrue, that they have tried to cultivate friendship and have only been repaid with enmity, I can only say that if it had gone the right way to work, its subjects would most undoubtedly have been its friends and supporters instead of, as in many instances, rising up in arms against it. Now, friendship is a feeling which springs from the heart and which cannot be kindled by 'admonitions'. . . . Government has hitherto kept itself as isolated from the people of India as if it had been the fire and they the dry grass—as if it thought that were the two brought in contact the latter would be burnt up."

I have given this large quotation to enlighten you with some of the reasons upon which you formed the opinions which I have already quoted in my letters Nos. I and II. These reasons may also go to prove that the prayers of the National Congress as to the concession of volunteering to be allowed to the native subjects of Her Majesty are nothing but reasonable and consistent with the noble principles involved in the above lines. Now I have done with your book on the *Causes of the Indian Revolt* so far as it concerned that resolution of the National Congress which prays for the introduction of representative element in the Legislative Councils of India. Most of these extracts, except one or two here and there, were abstract, and perhaps you may, with your usual calmness, have the boldness to say that there is nothing in these quotations which goes to prove that you ever meant to say that these representatives to the Council of

India should be elected by the subjects. Very good, I will search out quotations which will leave nothing doubtful. You might not have forgotten that two months after the opening of your Scientific Society[3] you delivered "a vigorous speech" at the laying of the foundation stone of the New Ghazipore, now the Victoria College. In the course of that address of yours, you said: "Bear in mind, gentlemen, that Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria has had proclaimed in this country that her servants and subjects, European and native, are to be considered as being on equal footing; *and this assurance, gentlemen, is not a mere matter of form but a reality*." The italics are mine. Now, Sir Syed Ahmed, will you still laugh at us because we believe this—this very proclamation—to be our Magna Carta?

Further on in the course of the same address you said: "The appointment of natives to the Supreme Council was a memorable incident in the History of India. The day is not far distant, I trust, and when it does come you will remember my words, when that Council will be composed of representatives from every Division or District, and that thus the laws which it will pass will be laws enacted by the feelings of the entire country. You will see that this cannot come to pass unless we strive to educate ourselves thoroughly. I once had a conversation with one in high authority on this very subject, and he said that Government would be only too glad if a scheme, such as I have sketched above, were practicable, but he was doubtful if it were said that if there were qualified men in every District, Government would gladly avail itself of their knowledge and give them seats in Council. I knew this only too well and felt ashamed that such was the case. What I have above stated is only to inculcate in your minds the great fact that Her Most Gracious Majesty wishes all her subjects to be treated alike; and let their religion, tribe, or colour be what it may, that the only way to avail ourselves of the many roads to fame and usefulness is to cultivate our intellects and to conform ourselves to the age." Sir Syed, have the happiness to know that the day, which you in 1864 said was not far distant, is coming nearer and nearer, and that you should no longer feel so much ashamed of your countrymen for not conforming to the age. Your prophecy is not fulfilled yet, but we are sure that some time or other it is sure to be fulfilled and then you will have the satisfaction to feel that you did not prophesy in vain. Sir Syed, do you wish to withdraw this prophecy of yours, and if so, why? Please explain,—I and others like me are waiting in suspense. Only say that this prophecy was one of the cravings of a head which had been turned by the dazzling light of Western ideas and we will be satisfied. Only say that with the return of sobriety

3. The Scientific Society, formerly known as the Translation Society, was founded in 1864 for getting the works of Western authors translated into Oriental languages, especially Arabic, Persian and Urdu.

and the calmness of old age you have come to know your own errors and we will no more trouble you with these prophecies. Sir Syed, would you please point out what else could be the meaning of the above sentence except that you meant to say that India would someday be governed by Councils composed of members elected by the people themselves? If not this, how can the laws be said to be "enacted by the feelings of the entire country"?

Two months before you spoke the words quoted above, you, on the 9th January, 1864, started a Translation Society now known as the Scientific Society of Aligarh; and in the course of a speech then delivered, pointing out the ignorance of your countrymen, you said: "From their ignorance of the events of the past and also of the events of the present—from their not being acquainted with the manner and means by which infant nations have grown into powerful and flourishing ones, and by which the present most advanced ones have beaten their competitors in the race for position among the magnates of the world—they are unable to take lessons and profit by their experience." Sir, we took your advice, and your countrymen have learnt the means and the manner by which they can advance the growth of their "infant nation" to the position of a "powerful" and a "flourishing" one. How is it that this growth which you so much desired in 1864 is an eyesore to you now? How is it that now at this period you cannot feel the pleasure of seeing a combination of all the different races and sects towards the accomplishment of the great end for which you had been only lately struggling so hard? How is it that you are going to prove that you did not deserve the distinctions so deservedly bestowed upon you? By your present attitude, by your present utterances, you mean to prove that all that you once said, all that you once did, for which you were rightly honoured both by the Government and the people, and for which you were said to be deserving of being "awarded a conspicuous place on the list of benefactors" of India, was but utter nonsense, because that is the phrase you now apply to the repetition of the same principles (which you advocated) from the mouths of the supporters of the National Congress.

On the 10th of May, 1886, you addressed a large and influential meeting of the European and native residents of Aligarh on the necessity of Indian affairs being more prominently brought before Parliament and of forming an association for this purpose (at least so says your biographer on pp. 88 and 89). In the course of this speech you compared the British rule with that of the "former emperors and Rajas" of India. You said: "It (i.e. the rule of the latter) was based upon nothing but tyranny and oppression; the law of might was that of right; the voice of the people was not listened to; the strong and the turbulent oppressed the feeble and the poor and usurped all their privileges with impunity for their own selfish ends. It is only therefore by such usurpers and turbulent spirits that a despotism such as flourished in Hindustan for many long centuries

is at all to be desired." Know, Sir, that the National Congress wants nothing but that the voice of the people be listened to, and that the "strong and the turbulent" may not oppress "the feeble and the poor." The National Congress wants to achieve these ends by peaceful means and in fact by prayers, while it can only be the usurpers and the turbulent who desire to threaten the use of arms. It can only be the self-assumed "strong" who can threaten "the poor" with the use of arms by "the followers of the Prophet." Further on you regretted the indifference with which the affairs of India were treated in the Parliament, and laid the blame for it to a great extent upon the shoulders of your own countrymen. You said: "India, with that slowness to avail herself of that which would benefit her, so characteristic of Eastern nations, has hitherto looked on Parliament with a dreamy apathetic eye, content to have her affairs, in the shape of her Budget, brought before it in an annual and generally inaudible speech by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India." You entreated your countrymen to discontinue this apathy and you asked them to exert themselves towards securing the proper representation of their interests in the governing body of the British Nation. You appealed to the "entire native community" to "co-operate" with the London Association[4] established for the purpose. To your countrymen you continued to say: "You will have only yourselves to reproach when in after years you see the European section of the community enjoying their well-earned concessions whilst your wants remain still unmet". Sir Syed, the country then responded to your call, though imperfectly, and it is now that the country has felt the value of your words and begun to throw away the deep indifference which you so forcibly lamented. Pray, will you tell me whether, prior to the movement of the National Congress, there was no agitation for the redress of the grievances of Indians in India? If so, what was all this which you were doing? Why did you establish and support all these Associations? Why did you call upon the entire country to "co-operate" with these Associations if the Government had of its own accord been doing all that was needed for the welfare of India? In your criticism upon the Lucknow speech of the Hon'ble Pandit Ayodhya Nath[5] of Allahabad you meant to ask (if I did not err in understanding and reproducing it from memory) the Congresswallas if any of their agitations had been existing when the Government granted all the boons which we enjoy. I have quoted largely from your own writings to show that such an agitation did exist, and you yourself were one of the most

4. The reference was to the East India Association formed by eminent Indians in London like W.C. Bonnerjee and Dadabhai Naoroji and by some retired British officials sympathetic to Indian aspirations. Its first meeting was held in London on 1 December 1866.
5. Pandit Ajudhianath (1840-1892); an eminent Congress leader of Allahabad; chairman of the Reception Committee of the Allahabad Congress held in 1888.

prominent agitators. You even went to the length of saying that no fear should be incurred of yourself (i.e. of those who meant to take part in such associations, &c.). being called discontented by the Government. To quote your own words—you said: "I am afraid that a feeling of fear—fear that the Government or the district authorities would esteem you factious and discontented, were you to inaugurate a measure like this—deters you from coming forward for your country's good. . . . Believe me that this moral cowardice is wrong—the apprehension unfounded, and that there is not an Englishman of a liberal turn of mind in India who would regard with feelings other than those of pleasure and hope, such a healthy sign of increased civilization on the part of its inhabitants. . . . The natives have at present little or no voice in the management of the affairs of their own country, and should any measure of Government prove obnoxious to them, they brood over it, appearing outwardly satisfied and happy while discontent is rankling in their mind." Further on you said that the natives were in the habit of inveighing against such measures in their homes but to the Europeans they represented that they were satisfied with the justice and wisdom of these very measures. You loudly proclaimed that "such a state of affairs is inimical to the welfare of the country. Far better would it be for India were her people openly and honestly to express their opinions as to the justice or otherwise of the acts of Government." Would you, pray, tell me, Sir, why we are sedition-mongers; is it because we speak "honestly" as to the justice or otherwise of the acts of the Government; is it because we have overcome the moral cowardice with which you charged us? Are we seditious because we do not want to keep "discontent rankling within our hearts?" Are we disloyal because we, according to your own teachings, have come forward to watch our country's good? If we deserve all these epithets on account of all these, I must say, Sir, that you are the father of all this. You taught us to do exactly what we have begun doing now. You not only taught but encouraged us by your own example. Why do you now deprecate "this healthy sign of civilization", as you once called it, on the part of Indians? If we, the followers of your old principles, have exceeded the proper dimensions which, I humbly maintain, we have not, it is not advisable to root out these instincts from within us, rather to point out the place and the occasion where we have exceeded. How have you come to oppose the principles themselves, the principles so lovingly promulgated by you? Say that the principles are not to be discarded but the men abusing these principles are to be despised. We will then know how to love the principles and not the men. We loved you because you held these principles, because we thought you loved your country above everything, because we considered you to be one of the fathers of the present India, and if we have erred we must say we thank you that you have pointed out our error in time. Truly has a poet said: "*Khowab tha jo kuchh ki dekha tha, afsana tha jo kuchh ki suna tha*," i.e. it

was in a dream what I saw, it was in a fable what I read. Ah! Human delusions are then destined to delude the human eye for ever and ever!

Again with a pause, with a promise of more in my next,

I am yours, &c.,
The Son of an Old Follower of Yours

4. Open Letter to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan[1]

Sir, The fourth meeting of the Indian National Congress is soon to be held at Allahabad, and so I think I must hasten to give some more of the most important quotations in this letter of mine. The less important ones I leave for some future occasion.

When this letter reaches you, you will be gloating over the ex-Viceroy's speech delivered at the St. Andrews' Dinner, Calcutta.[2] If you will only take the trouble of reading that speech with your eyes open, you will find that your uproar against the introduction of some representative element in the Legislative Councils of India is not liked even by those whom you have undertaken to flatter and whose National traditions you try to belie.

Sir Syed, for God's sake, please do reconsider your position and do not disappoint us just when the morning of hope has only begun to dawn over us and our motherland.

Now to proceed with your old writings and sayings, please turn to pages 207 and 208 of your *Social Reformer* for 1298 *Hijri*, equivalent to the year 1881 A.D. There, while giving an account of your voyage to London, you said that on the way you happened to see Mr. D. Fitzpatrick, the former Deputy Commissioner of Delhi, with whom you talked about "the goodness or badness of the Punjab administration." Therein you profess to have said that the Government of the Punjab was a *Despotic* one, though a thousand times better than that of the Sikhs. Further on you say, "the people of the Punjab may be happy and perhaps may like it because they have been just taken out of fire and made to sit in the *Sun*. But we cannot like it. The goodness or badness of the Punjab Government, i.e. the Government of the non-Regulation Provinces,

1. This letter dated 12 December 1888 was published in *The Tribune* of 19 December 1888.
2. Shortly before relinquishing the office of Governor-General, Lord Dufferin, in his speech delivered at the St. Andrews' dinner at Calcutta on 30 November 1888, said, among other things, that the Government was willing to associate educated Indians with the administration.

should be asked of the inhabitants of the Delhi, Panipat, Rohtak, Hissar and Sirsa Districts, which once used to belong to Regulation Provinces and have now been subjected to a non-Regulation (or *beqanuni*) Punjab Administration. As far as I know people think that of many other punishments which had been awarded to the inhabitants of Delhi and its adjacent Districts in the Mutiny, this was also one that they were made over to the Government of the Punjab and thus made the subjects of non-Regulation Provinces."[3] These lines were written at a time when the North-Western Provinces did not enjoy the blessing of having a Provincial Legislature of its own and so the only superiority in the administration of the N.W.P. over that of the Punjab then was the existence of a High Court instead of the Chief Court in the Punjab, and the constitution of a Board of Revenue instead of a Financial Commissionership here. The word *Despotic* is your own and is used in your Urdu style and thus you cannot say that the word has been unwittingly thrust upon you by the translator. Even at the risk of unidiomatic English I have tried to give a literal translation of your Urdu sentences. If you think that this translation is incorrect, I trust you will not, at least for the sake of your own reputation, fail to publish a true translation of the sentences meant to be quoted. Now, would you please explain on what principles you designated the Government of the Punjab as *Despotic*, and how did you distinguish it in that respect from the Government of India or that of the N.W.P.? I can dare to say that the Government of the Punjab was never more *Despotic* than the Governments of other sister Provinces. No doubt, the merit of each Government to a great degree depends upon the personal character of its head. The Governments of Montgomery, Aitchison and even that of Sir James Lyall[4] cannot be said to be more *Despotic* than that of any of the Governors of other Provinces. Can you, Sir, in the face of this broad accusation of yours still designate us as reckless accusers of Government and its policy? Further on in the same article you go on saying, "In fact the present time is not one in which people may like a *Despotic* Government, nor are those virtues which in ancient times used to be mixed with a thousand vices of a *Despotic* Government, and by which the influence of the former was an antidote for the latter, to be found in these days. Now-a-days it is not possible for those virtues to exist in any *Despotic* Government, and the people who think that in India a *Despotic* Government, such as it used to be in by-gone times, would be more appropriate and useful than the constitutional form of Government, are greatly mistaken.

3. Before its incorporation in the non-Regulation province of the Punjab in 1858, Delhi was part of the North-Western Provinces (later the United Provinces and now Uttar Pradesh), which was a Regulation province.
4. Sir Robert Montgomery was the Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab from 1859 to 1865, and Sir Charles Umpherston Aitchison and Sir James Broadwood Lyall held that office from 1882 to 1887 and from 1887 to 1892 respectively.

They are just like one who judges a garden by its state in the autumn without caring to think what it will be in the spring." The word *Despotic* throughout this quotation is your own, Sir.

At another place on page 132 of the same journal for the same year, under the heading of "Eastern Arts and Sciences", you exhort us not to devote ourselves to them but to the study of Western ones. You ask us even "to forget our mother-tongue" (an impossibility in itself) because you said our National advancement only "depended upon the spread of Western Sciences." You said, "Let us by all means remain loyal to the Government, let us always regard it to be our patron and well-wisher and let us at the same time try to extricate ourselves from that servile and savage state in which we are." Nobly and truly did you say that this, and this only, should be the object of a generous and kind-hearted Government who rules over a nation for the good of the latter, or, say, for the good of the human race. In the course of the same article on the same page of your *Tahzib-al-Ikhlaq* you say "no nation can ever advance in parallel lines, all travelling from one point to another. Nations always advance in the shape of a triangle whose one corner projects in advance of the others. To think that we may not be divided in different sects is to pray that we may not be enlightened by the light of Western ideas." In contrast to this, please reconsider your Meerut speech in which in fact you wanted to express that the whole nation may remain in the background because you think that the Mahomedan community has not sufficiently advanced to fully reap the benefits to be enjoyed by the granting of the boons prayed for by the National Congress.[5] (I do not admit that the Mahomedan community is not sufficiently advanced.) On page 136 of the same journal you say, "I sincerely believe and wish to assure the Government that the same discontented educated critics" (meaning those educated gentlemen who severely criticise the Government measures and who are blamed for it) "yield to none in their appreciation of the British rule; hence it is not just to effect the ruin of our education on account of any apprehension of such criticism." These are the words which you addressed to those politicians who advocate the closing of Government colleges and schools and who are of opinion that education in Western ideas and sciences has made the Indian disloyal. You would, I suppose, like to re-read those words also by which you encouraged your own educated countrymen to fight out the battle of their national advancement bravely and without fear. You say, "Without doubt, there are many difficulties in the way of our doing so (i.e. promulgating those blessings of education, instruction and enlightenment which we acquire in those civilised countries to which we go for completing our education). "On one side, we are

5. This speech delivered at Meerut on 16 March 1888 was published in the *Social Reformer*.

to contend against the prejudices and ignorance of our own countrymen, and, on the other side, we are to bear the opposition of those narrow-minded men of the conquering race to whom our social and political advancement is an eyesore, and who dislike us because we have adopted English life, English politics and the manners of an English gentleman, and change of dress even infuriates them to such a degree that they look at us with angry eyes as a pious man looks at a great criminal. But we should keep the good of our nation at heart and should bear all the difficulties and troubles which beset our way with the greatest possible perseverance and perservance. I do not wish to conceal that Time, the Great Reformer, will let all these things *be*, and no opposition or discontent will be able to keep them back. But still there is no doubt that this narrow-mindedness is kindling the feelings of discontent and is surely calculated to cause all sympathy and love between the Government and the Governed to be banished." Sir Syed, have the happiness to learn that your countrymen took you to be a true prophet, that they are going to stick to every word which you wrote and are not to be daunted away or to be baffled by any opposition even by yourself. How is it that you preached us to persevere and yourself could not? (*Digran ra nasihat wa khud ra fazihat.*) We have persevered but the old man has fallen; what a pitiable spectacle of human inconsistency!

Next, I will give an extract upon the great question of native volunteers with which one of the resolutions of the National Congress deals. On page 332 of your biography says your biographer that in March 1883 when Mr. A.O. Hume[6] (the beloved General Secretary of the National Congress) advocated the cause of native volunteers in India and stated that in the Mutiny he had a brigade of infantry, cavalry and artillery in the Etawah yeomanry levy—all Volunteers—he (i.e. Lieutenant-Colonel Graham) addressed a letter to the Editor of the *Pioneer* in which he cut up many of the arguments advanced by Mr. Hume, which letter, he says, brought you (Sir Syed Ahmed) down upon him in a letter which you wrote to him. He gives an extract from that letter on page 334 which runs thus: "I have perused your reply to Mr. Hume's letter advocating the volunteering of the Natives of India. In not allowing the Natives to become Volunteers, the Government mean to say that they do not trust the Natives of India. Its consequences should be judged from the saying: 'If you want us to trust you, you should also trust us.' There yet exists a wide gulf between Europeans and the Natives of India, and unless it be filled up *nothing can secure and improve the prosperity of the country.*" The italics are mine. This

6. (1829-1912); joined East India Company's service in 1849 and served in the North-Western Provinces; Secretary, Revenue and Agriculture Department, Government of India, 1870-79; retired in 1882; one of the founders of the Indian National Congress and its first General Secretary, 1885-1906; returned to England in 1892.

you wrote in the middle of 1883 and now, in 1887 and 1888, you say that Indians do not want anything. On the same page Lieutenant-Colonel Graham writes as follows: "What I would advocate, would be the selection by the local authorities in all large stations in India of a certain number of picked Native Volunteers—men of good family and well-known for their loyalty—to be placed under the command of the Officer commanding the European Volunteers. I would let them select their own company officers and once started I would also permit them to select their own recruits as vacancies occurred."

I say, "Give us this much and we will be satisfied for a long time to come."

A few important extracts more and I will have done with your old writings and sayings for the present. Contrast the meanings attached to the words "Nation" and "National" by you in your Meerut speech with those elucidated by yourself at Gurdaspur on the 27th of January 1884. At Gurdaspur you said that "we (i.e. the Hindus and Mahomedans) should try to become one, heart and soul, and act in unison; if united we can support each other. If not, the effect of one against the other would tend to the destruction and downfall of both. In old historical books and traditions you will have read and heard, and we see it even now, that all the people inhabiting one country are designated by the term one *nation*. The different tribes of Afghanistan are termed as one *nation*, and so are the miscellaneous hordes, peopling Iran, distinguished by the term. Europeans, though abounding in variety of thoughts and religions, are still known as members of one *nation*, though people of other countries also do come and settle with them, but being mixed together they are called members of one and the same *nation*. So that from the oldest times the word *nation* is applied to the inhabitants of one country, though they differ in some peculiarities which are characteristic of their own. Hindu and Mahomedan brethren, do you people any country other than Hindustan, do you not inhabit the same land, are you not burned and buried on the same soil, do you not tread the same grounds and both live upon the same soil? Remember that the words Hindu and Mahomedan are only meant for religious distinction—otherwise all persons, whether Hindu or Mahomedan, even the Christians who reside in this country, are all in this particular respect belonging to one and the same *nation*. Then all these different sects can only be described as one *nation*; they must each and all unite for the good of the country which is common to all." Again, in your Lahore speech which was delivered in reply to the address of the Indian Association of Lahore,[7] you, on the 3rd of February, 1884, said as follows: "Even granting that the majority of those composing this Association are Hindus, still I say that this light has been diffused by the same whom I call by the

7. The Indian Association of Lahore was established by Surendranath Banerjea in 1877.

epithet of Bengalees. I assure you that Bengalees are the only people in our country whom we can properly be proud of, and it is only due to them that knowledge, liberty and patriotism have progressed in our country. I can truly say that really they are the head and crown of all the different communities of Hindustan. . . . I myself was fully cognizant of all those difficulties which obstructed my way, but notwithstanding these I heartily wished to serve my country and my nation faithfully. In the word NATION I include both Hindus and Mahomedans because that is the only meaning which I can attach to it (i.e. NATION or *qaum*)." Here in the end, the word NATION is originally used by yourself (see the account of your trip to the Punjab by Maulvi Iqbal Ali, p. 167, line 18th). The capitals are mine. To resume—"With me it is not so much worth considering what is their religious faith because we do not see anything of it. What we do see is that we inhabit the same land, are subject to the rule of the same Governors, the fountains of benefits for all are the same and the pangs of famine also we suffer equally. These are the different grounds upon which I call both these races which inhabit India by one word, i.e. *Hindu*, meaning to say that they are the inhabitants of Hindustan. While in the Legislative Council I was always anxious for the prosperity of *this nation*." The italics are mine. This letter of mine has already exceeded its proper dimensions, and therefore I think I must not give more extracts and must leave the rest to be commented upon by abler hands than mine.

Anybody reading these extracts will be once for all convinced of your former *greatness* and present *lowness* of *position*. Foreigners reading these extracts will not believe that the now famous Meerut and Lucknow speeches of yours were in reality delivered by the same Sir Syed Ahmed Khan who was once proud (whether rightly or wrongly, God knows) of his broadmindedness. One thing is certain that either you were not the author of those ideas reproduced in the above quotations or that your recent utterances were the productions of some mind other than your own. Poor Sir Syed, you must feel sorry for all this inconsistency, though you may not have the boldness to say so. Sir, I assure you that you should not be disappointed; a small sacrifice at the altar of the goddess of fallen greatness will do to regain the confidence of your countrymen for you. If you are not prepared to do so I must think myself justified in impeaching you in the name of consistency, in the name of honesty and fair play, in the name of the great Mahomed whose descendant and follower you profess to be, in the name of Mahdi Ali, your old devoted friend, who once felt proud in showing to the world that the original Mahomedan rule was based upon democratic principles (see your *Social Reformer* for 1290 *Hijri*, page 136, lines 8 to 23), and lastly in the name of the pupils of your own Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, whom you trained in the principles which you now detest. It is a year since you actually engaged yourself in creating and

keeping up an opposition to the National Congress[8] but up to this time your countrymen have not been clearly enlightened as to what it is that you object to in the proceedings of the National Congress. You say we are not fit for a Republic and so do we say. You say we are not yet fit for a Parliament and so do we say.

If you say that the introduction of some representative element even would be injurious to our community, we ask why and how and, pray, when did you receive that revelation because up to 1884 you yourself acknowledged the necessity of these Legislative Councils being reconstituted upon some representative considerations. Pray, when were you inspired with the idea that the Hindu and the Mahomedan interests are sure to clash at least in this respect because up to 1884 you believed in the doctrine of Hindus and Mahomedans having one and the same political interests? To your friends, Maulvies Mahdi Ali and Mahdi Hussain, I have only one word to say. To the former that he may read his own lecture published in the *Social Reformer* for 1290 *Hijri* on p. 136 and those preceding and following it. To the latter, I have only to ask him to read his own article under the heading of "Liberty" published in your *Social Reformer* for 1298 *Hijri*, 1881, from pp. 321 to 341. I will ask you then to suspend judgment upon us unless you have read the pages referred to above, and to my other countrymen as well as to my rulers I have only to say,

"I know a maiden fair to see,
Take care,
She can both false and friendly be,
Beware! Beware!
Trust her not,
She is fooling thee.
She has two eyes so soft and brown,
Take care.
She gives a side-glance and looks down,
Beware! Beware!
Trust her not,
She is fooling thee!
And she has hair of a golden hue,
Take care!
And what she says is not true,
Beware! Beware!
Trust her not,
She is fooling thee.

8. Syed Ahmed Khan started his campaign against the Congress with his speech delivered before a gathering of Muslims at Lucknow on 28 December 1887. See also *ante*, item 1, fn. 7.

She has a bosom as white as snow,
Take care!
She knows how much it is best to show,
Beware! Beware!
Trust her not,
She is fooling thee."

Amen

With a promise to begin afresh in the year 1889, I beg to subscribe myself, Sir,

Yours, &c., &c.,
The Son of an Old Follower of Yours

2

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS AND THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

1. Appeal to Respond to the Call of Frederick Pincott[1]

Sir, Please make room in your paper to the following few lines. It being admitted on all hands that if India is to receive justice at the hands of its rulers it is to get it through constant agitation in England, the best thing for us Natives to do is to respond to the calls of philanthropists like Mr. Pincott.[2] The object, indicated in the first clause of the first sentence, can only be achieved by three means: either by the constant residence of a certain number of Indian delegates in England, or by the publication of tracts full of information on Indian questions for the use of the English public; or by supplying with clear and succinct accounts of matters deeply affecting the welfare of the country those noble-hearted Englishmen who have kindly consented to plead the cause of poor India.

There is another mistake under which we Indians seem to labour, which consists in the idea that only genuine questions, such as representation in Legislative Assemblies, and admission to the Civil Service of the land, &c., are to be agitated in England. I think the sooner we get rid of this mistake the better for the country. In my humble opinion, all the defects in the governing body and the mode of government, as well as all the defects resulting from the different systems of administration and the introduction of foreign institutions, should be laid open threadbare before the English public, both from theoretical and practical points of view. Mr. Pincott has set a very noble example in the direction before us. Of course, the first way of keeping the English public well informed on Indian subjects as pointed above, would be very costly; but the second and the third could not be said to be so. Both the points touched upon by Mr. Pincott are of vital importance. Almost every Indian has it in his power to give the material information about them to the noble gentleman who has called for it. It is no exaggeration to say that there is not a man in India who does not know of his own experience one or more instances of Police oppression,

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 27 April 1887.
   Frederick Pincott; a British philanthropist who took keen interest in Indian affairs and constitutional reform; d. 1896.
2. In his letter of 9 April 1887 written to the editor of *The Tribune*, Pincott had observed that with the development in the means of rapid communication English public opinion was having an "increasing effect on all matters of Indian polity", and that the people of England "of all grades of society and of all political parties" earnestly desired the moral and material prosperity of India and its good governance. What was wanted in England, he had added, was an accurate knowledge of facts which only Indians could give.

or of the receipt of bribes by Government servants.[3] Who does not know of the Police extorting confessions? Who does not know of the Police conniving at robberies and dacoities? Who does not know of the Police letting off the real culprits and committing hundreds of innocent creatures to prison every day? I ask, is there an educated man in India who does not know the evils prevailing in his country from the union of the judicial and executive functions? And secondly, I ask, who does not know of the shameful bribery still prevailing in the different Departments of the State? Mr. Pincott, in his letter, has hinted at one curious form of giving and of receiving bribes in the form of *Dali*.[4] Now, I say, who does not know of that? But the question is, how many of us have taken up our pen to put our knowledge into writing, in order to send facts and figures to the land of our ruler. Countrymen, I think, this is the best opportunity for you to serve your fatherland with the least possible meddling with your purse. You can advance the interests of your countrymen by merely being communicative; I say by merely speaking out what pain you feel, and what disease you suffer under. You are not required to tax your purse, you are not required to go anywhere, nor are you required to take any other trouble upon yourself than that of writing an account of as many instances of Police oppression and official bribery as may have come, or may come, to your knowledge in your own experience. I do not think this is much.

Pleaders, as a class, are the best informed persons on both the questions referred to in Mr. Pincott's letter. They as a class are men of independence of character, and I say it is they who are most of all in duty bound to give the required information to Mr. Pincott. Those who will not give the information I shall call them unworthy of the profession, whose duty it is to defend the weak against the strong and to see justice done. Let us see how the Punjab Bar responds to this call of duty.

Lajpat Rai

3. Pincott had sought information about the conduct of the Police and about the "existence, or non-existence, of Bribery in any of its Protean form."
4. Pincott had written: "*dali*, which, however innocent theoretically, has grown . . . into a gigantic and iniquitous tax."

2. On Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's Opposition to Congress Demands[1]

Sir, Anglo-Indians of the type of the *Civil and Military Gazette* and the *Pioneer* are exceedingly pleased at finding one more traitor in the camp of native patriots in the person of the now notorious Hon'ble Sir Syed Ahmed Khan Bahadur of Aligarh.[2] I have not read the full text of the Syed's speech, but from what I can gather from the remarks appearing from time to time in the columns of the *Civil and Military Gazette*, I understand that he is mistaken. To my view, in one sense, the old Syed's speech had done good, though there is not a shadow of doubt that it remains mischievous notwithstanding. What I mean by the Syed's speech having done good is that it will make the foundations of the National Congress more secure. The Honourable Syed has explained by persistent opposition to the National Congress in the speech in a rather frank way. This speech clearly proves that his opposition to the Congress was not based upon any point of principle, but upon entirely selfish motives. The speech clearly proves that the opposition came only from a misguided Mahomedan point of view, and that the opposition was not that of an old and experienced politician, but only that of a learned Mahomedan who thought that his co-religionists could only succeed by grovelling before the Government. The opposition of the Syed is not based upon universal philanthropic principles, but upon the egotistic idea of Mahomedan progress. He opposes the National Congress, not because in his opinion it will not be productive of any good to the nation, but because he thinks that the object of the National Congress, if attained, will not be so much beneficial to the Mahomedans as to the Hindus. He does not seem to oppose the National Congress in fact, but the Bengali element predominating in it.[3] The progress of the Bengali, the superiority of

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 10 March 1888.
2. Referring to Syed Ahmed Khan's address to the Mahomedan Educational Congress at Lucknow on 28 December 1887, the *Civil and Military Gazette* of 31 December had commented that it was a "fervid appeal to the patriotism, the loyalty and the commonsense of his countrymen." *The Pioneer* of 30 December had lauded him for exhorting his community to "concentrate" their resources if they wanted to compete with the Hindus. Syed Ahmed Khan, in his above address, had opposed the Congress demands for the Indianisation of Civil Services, expansion of the Legislative Council and election by the people of a section of the Council. He argued that as the "peoples" of India did not form one nation, any such concession would benefit mainly the Hindus and that the Muslims would be sufferers. He added: "The Hindus of our Province, the Bengalis of the East, and the Mahrattas of the Deccan do not form one nation."
3. In the same address, Syed Ahmed Khan had observed that "the Rajput and the fiery Pathan" could never remain in peace under the Bengalis who were sure to occupy the "tables of justice and authority" if competitive examination was introduced.

his abilities, and his taking the lead in every national movement pains the poor Syed to the core of his heart. His speech has clearly shown his colours, and with due deference to his grey hairs and his attainments in the Arabic language, I am bound to say that the Syed is yet a child in politics. Does he mean to say that his voice, however powerful he may take it to be, can arrest the tide of nation's progress? A misguided *Maulvie* of the modern fashion cannot easily turn out to be a successful politician. The progress of a nation must be constitutional. The nation consisting of Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians and others cannot be said to be progressing unless all the component parts of it contribute towards the progress of the whole; thus the progress of the Mahomedans, being an integral part of the "whole", must necessarily form an important part of the progress of the nation. But one part cannot mean to stop the progress of the whole because that part has not kept pace with the others. The desire of Sir Syed Ahmed to arrest the progress of the whole Indian nation unless the Mahomedans become capable of equally competing with other communities is simply absurd and expresses his utter ignorance as to how a nation politically advances. Sir Syed Ahmed feels proud of his ancestors, not because they were men who contributed to the well-being of humanity, not because they taught the lesson of equality to the world, not because they were followers of a book, said to teach the oneness of the mankind, the equality of mankind, but because they were conquerors, which in the strict sense of the word, means "dacoits". What were men like Timur and Nadir Shah if not the heads of looting. . . . The Syed inveighs at Bengalees because their forefathers never injured any section of the human race by their sword, because they never turned out to be aggressors![4] He fans the vanity of the Sikhs and Mahrattas, who in their turn were no less than adventurers trying to win their country back from the hands of dacoits, who held possession of it by the sword. It is the standing glory of the ancient Indians that no foreign nation ever had any occasion of being deprived of their liberties by them. Nobody in the world can deny the undaunted courage and the war-like spirit of the ancient Rajputs, who, notwithstanding this, never thought it proper to disturb the peace of a neighbouring people. No race ever complained of its having been ruined by a Rajput invasion. It is time that the followers of the Prophet should be proud of their ancestors, not on account of their conquests, but on account of their great efforts in the dissemination of knowledge in the world. Mahomedanism should feel proud of its due share in civilising the world.

After I had written so far, I read the *Tribune* of the 8th instant, and found

4. Ridiculing the demand for the Indianisation of the army, Syed Ahmed Khan had said that it would result in the recruitment of Hindus and not of Mahomedans or Rajputs "whose ancestors always wore the sword."

that the Syed in his reply has shown himself to be utterly ignorant of the meaning of nationality.[5] The Syed represents the nation to be a bride, having two eyes, Hindus and Mahomedans, thus dexterously excluding Christians, Parsis and others. Just suppose for a moment that both the eyes of a person are defective, the one to a lesser degree and the other a greater one. No reasonable man in the world will allow his better eye of the two not to recover its normal strength unless the other also recovers fully. The unearthing of the Syed's Lahore speech has shown of what stuff he is made. What credit can be attached to the utterances of a man so inconsistent with himself. Before I finish my letter I must ensure you, Sir, that the Syed is surely mistaken if he thinks that the whole of the Mahomedan community echoes his words. I had a talk with a respectable Mahomedan gentleman, a Government officer of high position, on the subject of the Syed's speech, who characterised it to be a mischievous flow of oratory. Another enlightened Mahomedan shared the same opinion in a talk. No action of brave race can approve of his cowardly mode of attacking a community whose attainments are simply dazzling. Can a descendant *of the men of the sword* as the Syed has the vanity to suppose himself to be ever stoop to such a mean attack upon neighbours who have never harmed him. Poor Syed Sahib, your speech cannot but be designated as doing only *mischief for mischief's sake*. I close my letter with a prayer that the Almighty may help the Syed to enable him to admit that the Lucknow speech was delivered under backlash influences, and was not a spontaneous expression of his own mind.

Lajpat Rai

5. In his reply which was in fact printed in *The Tribune* of 18 February 1888, Syed Ahmed Khan had said that it was both unavoidable and natural that "my Bengali brothers and some of my Hindu fellow countrymen should be angry with my Lucknow lecture. . . . I will not at this time discuss the evils that would arise for the country if the proposals of the National Congress met with success. But no one deny that in the case of success the Mahomedan would suffer grievous injury. I understand that the first duty of everybody is to work for the improvement and progress of his nation."

3. Need for Popular Representation in Legislative Councils[1]

It is with a feeling of exultation and pride that I address this splendid assembly—splendid on account of its loyalty to the Crown, splendid on account of its sincere attachment to our great Queen Empress. You might think it audacious on my part to address this vast assembly; but I come here for a special purpose. I come here to tell you why we want to have the right of interpolation.[2] A few days ago a high and responsible officer of the Government visited one of the towns of the Punjab. The inhabitants of the town, including the Vice-President of its municipality and its leading men, waited on the high officer for redress of grievances in relation to a certain department. Can you guess what the reply of that officer was? It was practically to this effect, viz. that the Government of India had its own interests to consult, and did not care for the people. Gentlemen, the fact is as I have stated, incredible as it may seem, and those of our opponents who say that we are spreading disaffection should know this incident, and consider whether it is we who are spreading disaffection or officers like these. This is no exaggeration, Gentlemen; I repeat that it is a fact to which a thousand citizens of that town can testify. I, therefore, support this proposition with all my heart. I support it in the words of the Mahomedan who is said to be the leader of the opponents of the Congress. I will speak to you in the words of no less an authority than Sir Syed Ahmed. That exalted personage, addressing a body of gentlemen at the laying of the foundation stone of the new Ghazipore, now the Victoria, College, pretty well endorsed all our claims.

I will begin, however, with his book on the *Causes of the Indian Revolt*, which was written in 1858, and translated and published in English in the year 1873. It may be worthwhile to note here that the translators of this were no other than Sir Auckland Colvin, the present Lieutenant-Governor of these Provinces and Lieutenant-Colonel Graham, the writer of Sir Syed Ahmed's biography. In this book, after trying to prove that the Mutiny of 1857 was no "religious war" nor the result of a preconcerted conspiracy, he says that "most men, I believe, agree in thinking that it is highly conducive to the welfare and

1. Speech at the Congress session, Allahabad, 27 December 1888. *Report of the Indian National Congress, Fourth Session, Allahabad, 1888*, pp. 92-3.
   Lajpat Rai attended the session as a delegate from Hissar.
2. A resolution had been moved by K:T. Telang affirming the "necessity for the expansion and reform" of the Governor-General's Legislative Council and Provincial Legislative Councils as set forth in the resolutions passed on the subject by the earlier three Congresses which proposed, among other things, a considerable increase in the number of elected members of enlarged Councils.

prosperity of the Government, indeed, that it is essential to its stability that the people should have a voice in its Councils. It is from the voice of the people that Government can learn whether its projects are likely to be well received; the voice of the people can check errors in the bud and warn us of dangers before they burst upon and destroy us." To make the matter more clear, he went on to say that "this voice, however, can never be heard, and this security never acquired, unless the people are allowed a share in the consultations of Government. The security of a Government, it will be remembered, is founded on its knowledge of the character of the governed as well as on its careful observance of their rights and privileges." These are noble words nobly spoken—words of sterling honesty and independence of spirit. Can they have any other meaning than what attaches to this resolution of our National Congress which prays for the introduction of a representative element into the constitution of our Legislative Councils? Pray, tell me how can the people have a voice in the Councils of Government if not by representation? How can the people of a country have their voice constantly heard if not through their representatives? But, to leave no doubt on the subject, I will go on giving further quotations from the writings of the same great opponent of the National Congress. He once advocated the introduction of the representative element into the Legislative Councils of India in these words: "The evils which came to India from the non-admission of natives into the Legislative Councils of India were various. . . . The Government could never hear, as it ought to have heard, the voice of the people on the laws and regulations which it passed." Again, he says: "But the greatest mischief lay in this, that the people misunderstood the views and the intentions of the Government. They misapprehended every act." Further on he says that, "if Hindustanis had been in the Legislative Councils, they would have explained everything to their countrymen, and thus these evils which have happened to us would have been averted." In his opinion, as expressed in his writings, this non-representation of the voice of the governed in the Legislative Councils of the realm is stated to have been the "one great cause", and the "origin of all small causes of dissatisfaction." He further went to the length of saying that our own countrymen should be selected to form an assembly like the English Parliament, which demand, at the time he advanced it, was certainly more premature than it now is, though the National Congress, with all the advantages that the country has had of education and enlightenment since the year 1858, only advocates the partial introduction of a representative element into the Legislative Councils.

With your permission, Gentlemen, I shall quote a little more from the writings of Sir Syed. He says: "I do not wish to enter here into the question as to how the ignorant and uneducated natives of Hindustan could be allowed a share in the deliberations of the Legislative Councils, or as to how they should

be selected to form an assembly like the English Parliament. These are knotty points. All I wish to prove here is that such a step is not only advisable but absolutely necessary, and that the disturbances are due to the neglect of such a measure." Could clearer words be used than what I have just quoted? Is there any doubt as to their meaning? Because, if so, I shall be obliged to quote the exact Hindustani words used by him to express the ideas propounded in the above lines. No, I do not suppose you can feel any doubt on that point, as the English rendering was undertaken, as I have already mentioned, by no other than Sir Auckland Colvin and Lieutenant-Colonel Graham, the former of whom, at least, has now declared himself to be hostile to the National Congress. Now, you will by this time have discovered that here this most loyal of Indian Mahomedans, who now stigmatizes us as traitors, 30 years ago demanded for India reforms of the same character as we now, after 30 years of education and progress, pray for in the resolution which I am supporting, but going far beyond anything in this direction that we have thought it expedient or necessary to ask for.[3]

3. The resolution moved by K.T. Telang was passed with an amendment moved by Charles Golaknath urging that a Legislative Council be established also for the Punjab.

4. The Next Congress[1]

Gentlemen, we do not, of course, desire to dispute the decision arrived at by the executive.[2] But I am here to state distinctly on behalf of ourselves, the Punjab delegates, and of our countrymen of the Punjab, that however poor we may be, both in intellect and wealth, we would have received you with open arms, and given you a royal welcome had you decided to coming to us next year. For your sakes, for the sake of the Congress, and for the sake of our common country, if it had been decided to hold the next meeting in Lahore, we should have given you the most hearty and enthusiastic reception, and should have done our best to make you forget the hospitality of Allahabad, Madras and Calcutta in the affectionate entertainment we should have provided for you; and we desire to say this, further, that whenever you choose to throw upon us the responsibility of receiving you, we shall most willingly accept, and unanimously glory in it.

1. Speech at the Congress session, Allahabad, 29 December 1888. *Report of the Indian National Congress, Fourth Session, Allahabad, 1888*, pp. 181-2.
2. About the next Congress session, it was decided that it would be held at Bombay.

5. Representation of Minorities in Legislative Councils[1]

Brother delegates, I do not think I shall be fulfilling my duty to my province if I do not tender the heartfelt gratitude of that province to the gentleman who does himself the honour of championing the cause of the poor and the oppressed.[2] I, belonging to a province that is poor, both intellectually and materially, have a right to say. . . .

Well, coming to the special question before us, I may say that, in accepting this resolution,[3] you will have the gratification of precisely giving effect to the words and wishes of Sir Syed Ahmed who, in 1884, looked hopefully forward to the time when the Legislative Councils of India would include representatives from every district and division. There is one other point to which I wish to refer, and that is the protection of the interests of Mahomedans in the measure now before us.[4] In 1884, when Sir Syed Ahmed went to Lahore he delivered a speech in which he defined the word Hindu as including both Hindus and Mahomedans and said that he would make no distinction between Hindus and Mahomedans so far as political privileges were concerned, because we required no such distinction. But, though we concur in his sentiments, though we hold that we are all Hindus, Parsees or Mahomedans, equally truly represented, let our elected members be Mahomedans, Parsees or Hindus, because though we are all one people and one nation, still we fear lest, in some cases, minorities, in whom this feeling of Indian brotherhood is not yet as fully developed as it will be a few years hence, should have doubts and think themselves unrepresented, if men of their own special section did not sit upon the Councils, and so, though in reality the thing is not needed, for we are all one, we have specially provided for it so that all such minorities shall necessarily be

1. Speech at the Congress session, Bombay, 27 December 1889. *Report of the Indian National Congress, Fifth Session, Bombay, 1889*, p. 19.
2. Sir William Wedderburn was presiding over the session.
   William Wedderburn (1838-1918); joined I.C.S. in 1860; President of the Congress in 1889 and 1910; chairman of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress; member of British Parliament, 1893-1900.
3. Eardley Norton, delegate from Madras, had moved a "skeleton scheme" for the "reform and reconstitution" of the Governor-General's Legislative Council and Provincial Legislative Councils for adoption by the Congress and submission of the same to Charles Bradlaugh, British M.P., for drafting a Bill on the lines indicated in the scheme and introducing it in the House of Commons. The scheme proposed, among other things, that not less than half of the members of the above Councils should be elected.
4. The scheme laid down that wherever the Parsees, Christians, Mahomedans or Hindus were in a minority they should be elected in proportion to their populations.

represented by men of their own particular sections. This will show how sincere we are in guarding not only the real interests but even the possible prejudices of our Mahomedan brethren, and how careful we are to look to the interests of all minorities in every part of the country. I am a Hindu; in the Punjab, the Hindus are in a minority, and so far as I am concerned, I should be quite content to be represented by any good Mahomedan or Sikh member. But others may not share this view, and hence the minority clause in that scheme which has been laid before you, and which I commend to your acceptance from the bottom of my heart.[5]

5. After some further debate, Eardley Norton's resolution was passed.

6. Call to People to Play Host to Congress Delegates[1]

There were defects in administration even during the best period of the Mogul rule, as the whole Empire was practically in the hands of one man. Representative form of government is the only form of government that is beneficial to the people. When there was anarchy and confusion in India, after the fall of the Mogul Empire, the British came on the scene. The people at once detected what was to be gained by supporting the British who were then merely adventurers in India. There is no exaggeration in saying that the people of India put the government of their country into the hands of the British. Professor Seely also holds the same view. They are utterly wrong who say that India was conquered by the sword and could only be retained by the sword. The British introduced high education into the country, the result of which is that political aspirations have sprung up in the hearts of the people. And now to say, after giving the people an education that produced in them a desire to have some voice in the administration of the country, that they should not take part in any political movement is certainly unreasonable. Some people say that the Congressmen do not represent the masses, and that they are selfish, self-seeking people. But it is always the enlightened few who take an interest in the affairs of the country and the masses are always led by them. Yes, the Congressists are selfish because they work so hard and spend so much money for the service of their fellow countrymen, because not suffering from salt tax themselves, being mostly well-to-do men, they raise their voice against it! The

1. Speech delivered at a public meeting, Lahore, 18 June 1893. *The Tribune*, 21 June 1893.

leading Congressmen lose much instead of gaining anything. The Congressists are the salt of the country. In fact the Government has to search their ranks to get good officials for itself. And these Congressists, because they spend money, because they work hard and because they agitate for the removal of grievances, are selfish men! And who are unselfish—men who to gain an end of their own stand aloof from the national movement, do injury to their own country's cause, and prosper by the help of the powers that be? I appeal to you to gird up your loins and work for the Congress. You will be persecuted sometimes, you will suffer often, you will be maligned and misrepresented and unlimited obstacles will be put in your way. But you should register a vow in Heaven to work with such devotion as to conquer all difficulties. It would be a lasting shame for the Punjab if we did not once play host to the representatives of the other parts of India. Punjabi delegates have enjoyed the hospitality of other provinces and now it is our turn to be prepared to give such a reception to the delegates of the other provinces as would be worthy of this great frontier province.[2]

2. In December 1893 the Congress session was held at Lahore. See also the following item.

7. Vote of Thanks to the President[1]

There would be no justification for my appearing on this platform a second time this day but for the fact that I am going to perform the duty of proposing a hearty vote of thanks to our learned President.[2] It is not an easy task to preside over the deliberations of such a large assembly as the Indian National Congress, but the manner in which our President has performed that duty has been most pleasing and impartial and he is entitled to the heartiest thanks we can possibly give him. By doing this we shall be showing that we really feel grateful for the services he has done for the country. I have just one word to say to my brother delegates from other Provinces and it is this, that I hope you will excuse all our shortcomings, for we have already told you we are not sufficiently advanced either in education or riches, and if we have not been able to give you a sufficiently splendid reception we hope you will excuse us.

1. Speech at the Congress session, Lahore, 30 December 1893. *Report of the Indian National Congress, Ninth Session, Lahore, 1893*, p. 152.

   Lajpat Rai was a member of the Reception Committee of the Lahore Congress.

2. Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917); popularly known as the Grand Old Man of India; taught mathematics and natural philosophy at Elphinstone College, Bombay, in 1854; Dewan of Baroda, 1873; member, Bombay Legislative Council, 1885-87; President of the Congress, 1886, 1893 and 1906; member, House of Commons, 1892-95; member, Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, 1896; works include *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* (1901).

8. Congress and Industrial and Educational Problems[1]

That the Congress hereby approves of the suggestion presented by the Indian Congress Committee for the consideration of this session that at least half a day at each annual session of the Congress be devoted to the consideration and discussion of the industrial and educational problems of the country. Further, resolves, that annually two committees be appointed by the Congress, one for the educational and one for the industrial subjects, to consider and suggest means for the educational and industrial improvements of the country and to assist therein, and that to each committee a secretary be annually appointed. These committees will divide themselves into Provincial committees with powers to add to their number.[2]

1. Resolution moved at the Lahore session of the Congress on 29 December 1900. *Report of the Indian National Congress, Sixteenth Session, Lahore, 1900*, p. 79.
2. The resolution was passed unanimously and accordingly two committees were also set up, Lajpat Rai being on both the committees.

   Lajpat Rai's speech being in Urdu was not reported. However, Duni Chand, another delegate from Punjab, speaking on the resolution, said: "It has been stated by Lajpat Rai that the prosperity of a country depends upon its industry. Even England has been called a country of shopkeepers and it occupies a very good position so far as its material prosperity is concerned. Japan is the first among the Asiatic countries, because it has taken an interest in industrial questions. It has excelled in the manufacture of matches and other things and exports them to India."

3
ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

1. On the Functioning of Judges[1]

Dear Sir, Mr. Browne deserves the thanks of the members of the Bar practising out of Lahore by his bold exposure of Mr. Macauliffe's irregular and illegal ways of deciding appeals. You are quite right when you say that such instances are not very rare. I am practising at an important station, not more than 200 miles from Lahore, where a civilian Judge is in the habit of frequently writing his judgements beforehand without previously listening to the arguments of Advocates or Pleaders. In order to keep up appearances, the Judge pretends to hear a Pleader when he knows very well that his judgement is ready and records only to be signed and dated. Is not this a farce? None of our clients, or members of the local Bar, European and Native, had hitherto the pluck of bringing the matter to the notice of the Chief Court. The reason for this is plain enough. Who would venture to beard the lion in his den? For a local Pleader to attempt to do so, would be to court persecution and loss of work &c. Would Mr. Browne like to go and settle now at Sealkote?

For the sake of proper administration of justice in the country and for the good name of the Civil Service, it is very necessary that the Government should not make an example of Judges like Mr. Macauliffe.

A Pleader

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 1 June 1887. At this time Lajpat Rai was practising law at Hissar.

2. Judicial Vagaries and Corruption in Law Courts[1]

Sir, The exposure of Mr. Macauliffe has brought a subject into prominent notice which materially affects the regular and impartial administration of justice in the Punjab, and I think it proper that the subject once touched upon should be exhaustively discussed in all its details, and judicial vagaries in all its phases should once for all be brought to the notice of the Chief Court.

Mr. Editor, judicial officers, as a rule, both European and Native (of course with honourable exceptions), seem to think themselves all powerful and subject

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 22 June 1887.

to no rules in their treatment of the members of the Bar. They seem to be under no rule as to the time of their attendance at Court, nor to the time of their closing their labours. This irregularity in the time of their coming to and going from Court put the parties and their Pleaders to the greatest possible inconvenience. The parties and their Pleaders as in duty bound are obliged to attend the Court at the first hour, though the Judge may not be forthcoming before the last. In this manner Pleaders cannot attend any Court with the least possible certainty of having their business taken up at the proper time. In the hot weather the Court hours as a rule are directed to be held from 6 A.M. to 12 noon. Certain Judges do not change their time at all and certain others at the same station do change, and the Pleaders are thus wont to work from morning to evening. Those who do not change their time are, however, better than those who, notwithstanding the announcement of the change of their time, do not come before 9 or 10 A.M. and thus leave their courts sometimes at 2 P.M., sometimes at 3, 4, 5, 6 and even 7 P.M. Thus the parties and their Pleaders have to wait from 6 A.M. in the morning up to 6 P.m. in the evening without anyone paying the least regard to their convenience. In some of these courts they are surely disappointed in the evening by being told that having become late their cases cannot be taken up. I have seen parties and their witnesses attending the Court for days and days together from morning to evening without their cases being called up. To the misfortune of the parties and their Pleaders sometimes when either the weather is a little trying or the Judge has got some trifling complaint or other, they are made to go to his house after having waited for his arrival in the Court for about 5 or 6 hours. All this the parties are made to bear in the scorching heat of May and June. Looking at the heavy and extortionate charges which Government makes for the administration of civil justice one cannot but feel indignation to see that suitors are not provided with sheds even to protect them from the burning sun of May and June. Nay, in some districts even Pleaders (men whose income often raises envy in the heart of many a civilian) are made to walk about on account of want of bar rooms. In addition to all this there is another nuisance which sucks the blood out of the heart of poor suitors, and this is the extortionate and merciless demands of *chaprasees* and *amlawallas*. In most of the Munsiffs' Courts of Punjab these charges weigh very heavily on the shoulders of suitors. The cases in those Courts being of small values, the usual cess of one rupee per case in favour of *Misilkhawn*, i.e. the Reader, and nearly the same amount in favour of the *chaprasees* and *muharrir-i-ijraidigri* (clerk entrusted with the executive file), cause great trouble to the parties, because if they pay they suffer in their pocket, which is never too full; if they do not pay they have to wait for days and days together without their cases being taken up without any order. I stop here for the present and will deal with the subject in a series of letters, giving causes of

all these evils in detail as far as possible. In the end I wish only to ask your favour of prominently drawing the attention of the Chief Court to the subject on which this letter has been written.

A Pleader

3. Judicial Corruption in India—I[1]

Your leader under the above heading published in your issue of the 2nd March is not sufficiently strong to express the indignation which we feel at the sweeping charges preferred by the *St. James' Gazette* of England against the Native Magistracy of India.[2] I am sorry I cannot bring myself to think the advisability of "let sleeping dogs lie", specially when the gauntlet has been thrown by a home paper of such high standing as the *St. James' Gazette* is said to be. These "sleeping dogs" are mad animals and whether Native or European the interests of the public require their *destruction*.[3] It is opportune that the challenge be accepted and that the whole judicial system in vogue in India be unmercifully criticised and the truth be brought home to Englishmen at large that it is not the Native Magistracy which is to be blamed for the corruption laid at their doors but that it is the system of government, the system of filling judicial posts and the system of administering justice, which is the author of all the mischief. It behoves "the Congressites" (as the Congressmen are called by the all-wise *St. James' Gazette*) to come forward with facts and figures to show that their "conception of public morality" is not such as is ascribed to them by the above-named paper. "Making law" and "deciding disputes" are two of the most important functions of a sovereignty, and it is to be regretted that our Government's system of performing both these functions is open to multifarious and serious objections. The main body of the "Congresswallas" should devote

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 13 March 1889.
2. Reacting to the charge of corruption levelled by the *St. James' Gazette* against the native magistracy of India, the *Tribune* of 2 March had commented that the European magistracy could not be absolved of the responsibility for this. As for the *St. James' Gazette's* contention that some native magistrates of Bombay had obtained their appointments through bribery, the *Tribune* remarked that it could not be possible unless their superior officers who happened to be Europeans were willing to accept bribes. It also asked the *St. James' Gazette* to do some investigation and find out whether the European bureaucracy in India was above board, and added: "We hope it will recognise the wisdom of the proverb 'Let sleeping dogs lie'."
3. This and other words printed in italics in this letter are italicized in the source.

their energies to make the Government feel the correctness and the weight of these objections. And now when the opportunity has come it should not be let to slip. The proceedings of the Crawford Commission have attracted the attention of the public at home, and it is time to sustain the interest thus shown towards judicial vagaries in India.

These remarks are particularly addressed to my countrymen of the Punjab, where these judicial vagaries are prevailing in a higher degree and to a greater extent than in any other province of India. The Punjab delegates should make it a duty to keep note of all the judicial vagaries, which may come to their notice from time to time. It should be kept in mind that the object is to get the system reformed, and not to abuse men. It is not the conduct of Englishmen only, which will thus be made the subject of criticism, but of all judicial officers, be they Natives or Europeans. Facts should be arranged to show the defects of the system in the clearest language possible. The conduct of the individual officers should be only so far relevant as necessary for the elucidation of the fact and the drawing of conclusions thereupon.

As criticism against the Government is often made the occasion of a charge of sedition being preferred against the critic, therefore, before proceeding to criticize the judicial system, I think it safe to say that I belong to that class of Natives of India who owe *everything* to the supremacy of the English. It is the English language only by means of which I have learnt the principles of government and the principles of public morality as expounded by modern sages. Whatever education I have received, I have received through the medium of English and am thus proud to say that it is the English who have taught me how to criticize the Government measures. I belong to that class with whom the British Government is the object of reverence, British statesmen the object of love, and the British representatives in India the object of deep and grateful respect. We are fully convinced that it is the English Government only which can raise India to the standard of a civilized country. Looked from an Asiatic or, say, looked from a pro-Anglo-Indian point of view, we can confidently say that the British have achieved a noble success in their administration of India, and that to a greater degree they have shaken the trammels of slavery, they have given India a literature of its own, a free press, the right of public meeting and many other things too numerous to be mentioned here. Thus the freedom given to India by the English has been a boon for which all Indians do and should feel deeply grateful to them. In fact we Indians look upon Englishmen as the *authors of our modern existence*. But the question which now arises is whether the English or the Indians are to stop at this stage. Looked from European or modern points of view, the present system of governing India is not all that could be desired. It is too backward to be compared with any of the systems in force in the most backward of the European countries. Whatever

differences of opinion may exist as to the advisability or non-advisability of introducing European institutions in full in India, there can but be one opinion that this technical and elaborate system of law which is being administered in India can only properly be administered by a judiciary which may be totally separate from the executive and which may have received a special training for the purpose. Thus in connection with the reform of judicial machinery at least we are not to stop at where we have arrived. Even generally the Natives of India are fully confident that the great liberal English nation does not mean to stop here in its noble mission of re-civilizing this once benign land of the great Aryans.

The thinking portion of the Native community, at least that portion of it which can be said to possess Anglo-Indian eyes, does not judge the Englishmen at home by the perversities of a handful of their countrymen in India. They rather ascribe it to be mainly due to the warm climate and the demoralizing influence of this country itself.

It is instructive to note that while the educated Native of India aspires to become a worthy citizen of a great empire and bases his claims upon the education given to him by a worthy Government, the demoralizing influences of Indian residence have so much deteriorated the clear and liberal vision of the English eye that Englishmen in India are fast becoming unworthy representatives of a great and worthy nation. They, i.e. the latter, have got a mania for trying to stop the transition of the former from a state of slavery to a state of freedom and becoming the subjects of a European Government, and thus a Native of India who takes part in public matters is becoming an eyesore to the average Anglo-Indian here. Educated Natives, interested in public matters, feel themselves in a great difficulty and sometimes when they do not find any means to extricate themselves from the difficulty they curse the education they have received, because they fully believe that but for the education they would have passed their days like dumb-driven cattle and would have been totally indifferent as to what treatment they received from the hands of their foreign rulers.

The present ruling body of India (which has imbibed Asiatic ideas of government and taken a liking to despotism) consists of persons professing to govern on liberal principles, i.e. principles expounded and loved by European nations, but really and in heart governing India despotically. The demoralizing influences of a despotic Government are two well known to be expounded here. What we mean to say is that, under these circumstances, it is no wonder if the Native Magistracy of India has not yet completely saved itself from corrupting influences. In this sentence we have assumed the correctness of the charges preferred by the *St. James' Gazette* merely for argument's sake. To believe them to be true is simply preposterous.

What if we assure 'these simple-hearted Englishmen' (i.e. the Englishmen at home) that the incorruptibility of the Civil Services of India cannot be assumed to be a law of nature as the *St. James' Gazette* wishes its readers to believe. Corruption has never been defined to be confined to the taking of bribery in cash. We say we know Englishmen, members of the Civil Service of India, whose corruption is far more hideous and contemptible than the corruption of the Native Magistrates of Pune, who have admitted to have obtained their appointments by paying bribery to a high and responsible member of the Civil Service of Bombay. Corruption in some form or another is fast prevailing in India. Some prefer to take cash, others choose not to pay for the articles they send for. Some like a middle course, i.e. pay for the things they purchase but pay at a rate much lower than what those articles could be obtained for in the market. Some pay directly for their own appointment, others are made to pay for the appointment of their sons and other relatives, &c. Some having sterling abilities are refused offices which are being given to men of far inferior abilities and thus seeking the reason they take to devices which may secure to them the coveted posts.

What if we assure our readers that some Englishmen even are so *mean* as not to pay for the wood supplied to them as fuel even at headquarters, what of camp!

Thus the article in the *St. James' Gazette* which was headed as 'Realities of Indian Life' is full of mistakes in stating the facts as well as in drawing conclusions.

I think I have already exceeded the size of an ordinary newspaper letter and, therefore, should stop here for the present.

A Punjabi Pleader

4. Judicial Corruption in India—II[1]

Sir, In your second leader on the subject you have touched upon one form of corruption which is very prevalent amongst the European members of the Civil Service. This form of corruption consists in officials taking loans of large sums of money from persons either subordinate to them in their official capacity or living within the limits of their jurisdiction as Civil Judges, Magistrates or

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 10 April 1889.

Revenue Officers. This is a fact which is not the creation of my imagination, but is based upon judicial records, account-books of Bankers and documents written or signed by the debtors themselves. I am a pleader of hardly 5 years' standing, but within this short period of my professional practice, at least half-a-dozen instances have come to my notice, in which responsible European officers have been known to have taken large sums of money as loans, knowing or having reason to believe that it will be very difficult for them to repay them. In this number of half-a-dozen, 2 gentlemen held the position of Deputy Commissioners of the districts in which they contracted these loans; one of them a Sub-Divisional Officer and a 1st class Magistrate expecting to be raised to a Deputy Commissionership soon; another a District Superintendent of Police; the fourth an Assistant District Superintendent of Police; the fifth and sixth Civil Surgeons. Both the Deputy Commissioners have fortunately now retired; but none for their grossly illegal conduct of taking loans from persons living or having an interest within their jurisdictions. They were never even censured for it. They retired under the 55 years rule, and one of them still is held in high esteem by the Local Government and is being now and then thrust upon Native Princes. One of these gentlemen who is still in India was known to issue orders for the supply of grain and other provisions at rates which he pleased to specify and which were, as a matter of course, far below the bazaar rates. Now, what has the *St. James' Gazette* to say to this? Is not this form of corruption a most abominable one? It cannot be supposed for a moment that their superior officers can feign to be ignorant of the real facts of these cases. Then the reason why they did not think it proper to take any action in the matter, or if they took, the reason why the several Governments under which they served did not notice this conduct of theirs, is simply to be sought in their personal love for each and every member of the brotherhood. What does this neglect show? It proves beyond doubt that the several Local Governments under which they have served have never thought it proper to expose the conduct of their own brethren in the service. By the bye, these loans did not amount to hundreds, but with a full knowledge of the details of some of these cases I can confidently say that the debts amounted to thousands—not one, two or three thousands, but rather to *tens of thousands*.[2] Would the *St. James' Gazette* like to know the names of these gentlemen and the details of their debts? If so, let him support that prayer of the National Congress in which the Congresswallas pray for the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into the working of the present system of government in India. In that event I promise, if I am alive and if the enquiry is conducted in India, to come forward and give the details of the cases referred

2. These and other words printed in italics in this letter are italicized in the source.

to above. Will the writer in the said paper still assert that the incorruptibility of the Indian Civil Services is "to be assumed as a law of nature?" In my humble opinion, these practices of taking loans are even more disreputable than the practice of taking bribes. In the latter case the suitor, or say the bribe-giver, consoles himself for the loss of his money by the thought of the consideration which he thinks to have received in exchange for the payment of the bribe. But here the creditors are even denied that, though in some instances the creditors are too astute not to reap the advantages of their influence upon their debtors. Native officials drawing low salaries have been attacked by the *St. James' Gazette* with a brutality which is only characteristic of the worst Conservatives in England. But what has that paper to say to this conduct of its own countrymen?

Taking for granted that Mr. Crawford has been acquitted of the charges of having received bribes, and that also rightly, it cannot possibly be denied that he knew at the time he contracted these loans his inability to repay them as he had pledged to do.

Mr. Larpent's conduct is too well known to be deserving of a special mention here. This gentleman was found guilty of both sorts of corruption. Then comes Mr. Beames of Bengal.

If you add up all such instances and if investigation for the purpose be carried on in the whole of India, I am sure we shall be able to find out a very large number of European officers indulging in this (according to their notions) comparatively innocent practice, which is said to have been strongly prohibited under the orders of the Government of India. What is the value of these orders? I think *nil*, because they are more honoured in their breach than in their observance. The close ranks of the bureaucracy really ruling over Indian destinies do not allow of these matters ever reaching the Supreme Government. Or, if they sometimes do reach the sacred chambers of the Indian Government, some Governor's or his Secretary's sense of mercy prevails upon his sense of justice, and the culprit is let off with no punishment whatever. I ask what is the use of making laws and rules when there is nobody on watch to get them enforced. Legislation by itself is very good, but legislating without means to get the laws enacted enforced is simply demoralizing.

What if we assure "the simple-hearted Englishmen" (i.e. those at home) that if they wish to get a list of such Indian officers whom the Indian public *knows* or believes to be dishonest or corrupt (corrupt in the sense of taking bribes) the list is sure to include Deputy Commissioners, Commissioners, Political Agents, &c. &c., not to speak of junior officers! Let honest Englishmen look with a searching eye into the doings of their own countrymen in India and if they find that even such gentlemen as are enjoying princely salaries (salaries which a Native Magistrate can never dream of) cannot resist the temptation of illegal gain, what serious blame can be charged against poor Native Magistrates

who, in the majority of instances, can never aspire to a position higher than that of a 1st class Magistrate and for whom a salary of Rs. 500 per mensem is thought to be the highest step of his official life to which he can climb?

Even the biased *St. James' Gazette* could not but admit that "it is almost asking too much of the humbler officials to expect them to reject gratuities. They cannot live on their pay. They cannot, that is to say, keep up the usual standard of living upon their nominal salaries."

The writer goes on to say that "Englishmen have no excuse for being corrupt, because their allowances are fixed upon a scale that makes unrecognized gain unnecessary." What if we assure the *St. James' Gazette* that notwithstanding these advantages and in face of these princely salaries, many an Englishman cannot resist the temptation of accepting these gratuities in some shape or other! Almost all English officers (natives as well) do not pay for the provision supplied to them while they are in camp. Hundreds of trees are cut down to supply fuel for them and their camp-followers' fire and convenience and they never think of payment. Whenever a village, i.e. its proprietor or proprietors, fail to supply the necessary provisions immediately on demand he or they become sure of incurring the wrath of the District Lord, until he or they again could manage to ingratiate themselves in his good graces. I assert that this is a fact, and I say this with sadness but at the same time with full conviction. The word "bribe" has been known to mean "robbing" and I dare say that all officials who rob people of their money in cash, of their property in the form of presents, of convenience in the form of unauthorized service, of liberty in the form of repression, or of their rights and dues in the form of justice are, to all intents and purposes, "robbers" or "bribetakers".

There are many Englishmen who never feel the slightest pity for those Zamindars who whenever the Lord Zillah Sahib and his lady choose to go in camp are required to mark the way for them, which in vernacular official language is called *dag bel lagana.*

It is proper that for the purpose of easy reference we may give the rule on the subject of officials' pecuniary relations with persons subordinate to them in their official capacity *in extenso*, so that our readers may be able to judge for themselves how the rules differ from the practice.

The rule runs thus: "All Covenanted Civil Servants, Statutory Civilians and the Covenanted Officers who hold Gazetted appointments and Military Officers in Civil Employ are prohibited *under pain of dismissal* from taking loans from, or *otherwise* placing themselves under pecuniary obligation to, persons subject to the official authority or influence of such Government Officers, or residing, possessing property or carrying on business within the Local Limits for which such Government officers are appointed." (Vide Regulation VII of 1823, Home Department Circular letter No. 4952-4960 dated

29th October, 1869 and extracts from the proceedings of the Government of India in the Home Department (Public) under date Calcutta, the 16th March 1888.)

Now, let us see how many English officials there are who feel proud of abiding by the very letter of the rule, nay, even with the principal conditions of it. Sorrowfully but truly do we say "very few"; only this evening did we hear the Agent of a Banker carrying on business within one of the Punjab Cantonments, saying that he got a particular act done by the Cantonment Magistrate of the Cantonment as a favour under the pressure of debts which the said Cantonment Magistrate owed to their firm. I repeat that this is no *fiction* but *fact*. Let us pause here for the present.

A Punjabi Pleader

5. Administration of Justice in India[1]

Dear Sir, A stranger, I mean one who has no experience of judicial life in India, reads the Indian Evidence Act and both the codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure, and at once jumps to the conclusion that the system of judicial administration in India is so elaborate and ingenious that the country in which it obtains must be presumed to be a very highly civilized country, and its inhabitants must feel proud of a system which is followed in few European countries even. Can we say that his opinion is not wrong and his estimate overdrawn? The answer (so far as it is to be given from our own experience), we are sorry to say, must be in the affirmative. However pleasing or, say, elated the theoretical picture may be, the more we look into its practical working, the more into its method of being enforced by those who have been enrusted with the task, the more we seem to be disappointed with the results. I assert that the fact is so and it is not upon hearsay evidence that my judgement is based, but, on the contrary, the facts from which this sad conclusion has been drawn have come to my knowledge through my own eyes, ears and senses. I do not say this from a conviction which has been based upon information supplied by others, but I say this because I have seen so. I am seeing these things every day, and, duty compels me to say, will go on seeing these things for a long time to come till the Government be prevailed upon to look into the disastrous results of

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 18 December 1889.

this, their double-dealing. But what is the double-dealing of which I so ruthlessly accuse this noble Government, the Government of the English in India, to be guilty? The double-dealing consists, I maintain, in the Government's making such elaborate, intricate, difficult and highly technical laws and not providing proper machinery for their administration. Those who would have read Mr. Whitley Stoke's[2] remarks in his introduction to the first volume of his Anglo-Indian codes will be surprised to read what I have written above, and I am sure that they will at once denunciate the writer to be seditious. What I ask them is simply to suspend their judgement and hear what I have to say. Even a murderer or, say, a thief is by the law of England allowed to have his say before he is condemned. Then why should I (who certainly is not worse than a thief or a murderer) not expect a similar forbearance on the part of my English readers? Here again my experience says that I may be mistaken in this expectation of mine. A certain class of Anglo-Indians is fast increasing which has adopted it to be a dogma of their faith not to believe any criticism by a native against the Government to be true and therefore what I fear most of all is that I am destined to be mercilessly dismissed, and this humble production of mine will be thrown into the chimney. However, I must record what I have to say and do not care whether anybody interested in it will read it or not. I am a native of the Punjab and therefore whatever I write I do from my experience of the Punjab courts; some of these remarks may apply to the whole of India, but I am not prepared to say that whatever I write here is true of all Indian courts or Indian judges in all parts of the country.

I think it better to begin with the court of the Deputy Commissioner, because the functions of this office will, I trust, give my readers a fair idea of how justice is administered in India and of how the labours of the Legislative Department of the Government of India are made perfectly negatory by the action of the executive. "Deputy Commissioner" is a term which I think is novel in India, and they are right in fixing upon this term, because it can never give its hearers any notion of what the function of the officer so named might be. Therefore, it is with us to explain clearly what is commonly understood by the term where the Government has chosen to retain the phrase as a distinctive name for those entrusted with the administration of districts. In the post of a Deputy Commissioner in the Punjab are united the functions of a District Magistrate, a District Judge, a Collector, the chief controlling Revenue authority and the chief executive officer of the district, and the representative of Her Majesty the Queen. He is the person who as Collector of Government revenue is most of all interested in the opium, *abkari* and forest laws and he is the

2. (1830-1909); jurist; Secretary, Imperial Legislative Council, 1865-77; Law Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, 1877-82; Chairman, Indian Law Commission, 1879-82.

officer who punishes the offenders against these laws. Whatever one cannot hear or cannot be allowed to consider under the provisions of the Evidence Act, he is allowed to know in his capacity of a Collector. Whatever is inadmissible in evidence under the procedure codes, he can hear and know in his capacity of the officer entrusted with the peace of the district and as such one who controls the district police. While judging cases he is required by the law of Evidence not to consider anything which he might have heard in his executive capacity. In fact, the Deputy Commissioners of the Punjab are extraordinary men because, notwithstanding apparently conflicting and contradictory nature of many of their duties, they are never supposed to be disregarding any laws. The matter does not stop here. In almost all serious cases, he is the person who is interested in the prosecution, but notwithstanding that Section 30 of the Criminal Procedure Code authorises him to hear many of those cases which are exclusively triable by the Court of Sessions and that also without the necessary formalities which are considered as vital in all trials before the Court of Sessions. For example, no trial can take place before a Court of Sessions without the aid of assessors or jury, and thus any order passed by a Sessions Judge without the aid of assessors or jury is totally and *ipso facto* null and void however light the punishment may be, but the same sentence or even one nearer than that is legal when passed by the Deputy Commissioner in the exercise of royal powers granted to him under Section 30 of the Criminal Procedure Code.

Let my readers transport themselves to the office of a Deputy Commissioner when the said officer is engaged in hearing reports. A certain Tahsildar reports the sale of smuggled opium in his Sub-Division and warns the Deputy Commissioner about the probable falling off of the sum for which it is usually farmed. He also mentions the name of a certain person whom Dame Rumour condemns to be the principal offender. Now, the Deputy Commissioner at once sends an order to the police to be a little more vigilant in the matter. The police at once takes the opportunity and searches the houses of some of the wealthy *Mahajans*. The police makes the investigation and from time to time receives instructions from the Magistrate of the district and the D.S. Police. Forsooth the accused are sent up for trial and the Deputy Commissioner keeps the case for trial by his own court. Eventually the accused are punished and sent to prison—for what offence? That is, for purchasing the opium from the Government farmer. In such like instances men are punished simply because the Government has chosen to monopolise the sale of opium, simply because the Government wants to make profit by it. Sir Richard Garth[3] says that "when

3. (1820-1903); jurist; Chief Justice, Calcutta High Court, 1875-86; works include *A Few Plain Truths About India* (1888).

the functions of a policeman, a magistrate and a judge are all united in the same officer, it is vain to look for justice to the accused." I say it is foolish to expect justice when the functions of a Collector, a Policeman, a Magistrate and a Judge are united in one and the same individual.

This is no extraordinary occurrence in the courts of Deputy Commissioners. Rather, it is an easy way of doing away with real or supposed offenders against the law. The accused never comes to know what information the Deputy Commissioner possessed against him even before the initiation of the proceedings. He can never know the names of those who might have prejudiced the Deputy Commissioner against him before and after the beginning of these proceedings. All that form the information, and the opinion of subordinate officers against the accused, remain with the Deputy Commissioner in a chamber of his brain. Is it not preposterous under the circumstances to expect that the Deputy Commissioner can keep himself uninfluenced except by the evidence on the file? Many an accused is being sentenced upon many an evidence thus really taken on their back and without getting an opportunity of refuting it. I am not prepared to say that in all such cases innocent persons are being punished. What I am particularly anxious to expose is the utter futility and uselessness of the provisions of the Evidence laws. If the accused who are thus punished are found guilty of offences against the substantive law, I can say without fear of contradiction that such executive officers become guilty of breaches of adjudicative laws deliberately passed by the legislature and entrusted to those for administration.

A Punjabi Pleader

6. Need for Separation of Judiciary and Executive[1]

Mr. President,[2] brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,

The question involved in the resolution now before you is of such vital importance that the stronger the case we make out the better for us.[3] After trying the Government of India and the Local Government for eight years, now we are taking our case to the Secretary of State for India and we hope to make

1. Speech at the Congress session, Lahore, 29 December 1893. *Report of the Indian National Congress, Ninth Session, Lahore, 1893,* pp. 92-94.
2. Dadabhai Naoroji
3. Kali Charan Banerji had moved a resolution requesting the Secretary of State to order the immediate appointment of a committee in each province for preparing a scheme for the

the strongest case possible. You know that it is necessary for the peace and progress of a country that its people should have a voice in the Legislative Councils but it is much more essential for the security of life and property that the laws, when once made in those Councils, should be faithfully carried out. It is, I say, much more essential for the peace and prosperity of the country that the people should have full confidence in the courts of justice which administer justice to them. It is most essential for the peace of the country and the security of property that people should believe that the administration of justice is complete and effectual and a more dire misfortune cannot be imagined than the discontent that results from the people losing faith in the impartiality of the courts of justice. Gentlemen, the evil is the greatest possible in the Punjab and therefore I will ask for your indulgence to put a concrete case before you. Here is another short case. The function of the Government is not only administration but also trading. The Government has got certain traffics into its hands, the opium and liquor traffics being amongst them, and who is the head of these traffics? Who is the representative of Her Majesty in these trades in every district? It is the Deputy Commissioner of the district and do you know who is the head of the courts? It is the Deputy Commissioner himself—a trader, administrator of justice, Revenue Collector, Forest Officer, Opium Officer and what not! All these functions are embodied in one person here in the Punjab. Added to this is the difficulty that in many districts this officer is a military officer taken away from Her Majesty's army and we know what legal knowledge such an officer possesses. In one case a Colonel in charge of a district tried summarily a case which was not triable summarily and the conviction had to be quashed by the Chief Court. In the Punjab the opium traffic is divided, for in many districts different sorts of opium are sold, and do you know what the Government does for the protection of the opium traffic? The order goes to the District Officer that one particular sort of opium will be sold which the people don't like and which Government perhaps gets cheaper, and the other is to be put down. The order is communicated to the subordinate Excise Officers who take out warrants and bring people before the District Officer and they are sentenced to different terms of imprisonment, varying from one month to six months. I hold in my hands copies of several judgments in which these oppressions could be seen. In one of these cases the District Magistrate admits that a travelling *jogi* brought a few *mashas* into the district while passing through it. The District Magistrate said the man had not committed an offence but the excise must be protected and sentenced him to a month's imprisonment. One

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"complete separation of Judicial and Executive functions . . . with as little additional cost to the state as may be practicable", and the submission of such schemes to himself at some early date.

of the richest bankers in the district had his house searched and a few rupees worth of opium was found and the District Magistrate imposed the full sentence of three months' rigorous imprisonment. Such cases could be multiplied by hundreds. Now, let us look at the Forest Department. In some districts the Deputy Commissioner is the head of the Forest Department. Sometimes the people are starving and go to the forest and take certain berries and thus save themselves from death by starvation, but they are brought up for trespass and sentenced to different terms of imprisonment, because the Forest laws must be vigorously administered. It is these evils which are undermining the safety of the Empire and which, it is high time, should be put down both in the interest of the Government and for our own safety. These are not the only cases, all those who read newspapers know the judicial vagaries that were committed in the Umballa district in the name of friendship to the agricultural class. Lots of people to whom money was due by the agricultural classes were ordered by the District Magistrate either to give full receipts to their debtors without receiving any payment or to compromise their cases according to the wishes and proposals of the debtors, and for their not obeying these most unreasonable orders they were first ordered to give securities for good behaviour. When they had signed these documents the District Magistrate found that they had placed themselves entirely at his mercy and he showed them his mercy by compelling them to grant receipts to their debtors for all their dues without receiving a single pice in payment from any one of them. There are numberless cases on record where you can see that the District Magistrate, in making his awards, has compelled the people to file receipts or compromise their suits. These cases can be enumerated by thousands in the Punjab, because the Government, in its benignity, in its beneficence, thinks that the military officers alone can govern the Punjab. These things are only possible in the Punjab because unfortunately we are not sufficiently educated to have the moral courage to put our cases before the public. We are afraid of the District Magistrate, the Assistant Commissioner and the Extra Assistant Commissioner and all these cases never see the light of day. For want of education we have not sufficient boldness to expose them. The District Magistrate is the District Judge also in many cases and in consequence civil justice too suffers. The Deputy Commissioner often writes, "in case of conviction a sentence of imprisonment should be awarded", and you can perceive the effect of this upon the subordinate Magistrates whose promotion depends on the opinion of that Deputy Commissioner. There are some men who will not kill their conscience in this way but what is their fate? They are doomed: their promotion is stopped and they are put back in the list. This is the effect of their independence! It is the system I condemn and not the people who administer it. The judgments, the copies of which I hold in my hand, were written by an officer for whom I have the greatest respect but he

was helpless. He had to give the accused persons different terms of imprisonment because he did not like to injure the chance of his own promotion. It is the system I condemn and it is high time that you, my brothers from the other provinces, should come to the rescue of the Punjab. Separation to some extent has been carried out in some provinces but here to no extent whatever. And this is what we call a question of principle. We are told that the greatest difficulty comes from a financial point of view, but I will show you that the taxation from justice gives a net profit to the Government. From the official reports you will find that the net profit to the Government from the administration of civil justice is twenty-five lakhs of rupees, while the expenditure on civil justice does not exceed twelve lakhs, so that there is a net profit to the Government, so far as civil justice is concerned, of over twelve lakhs. From the sale of process-serving stamps there is a net profit of two and a half lakhs. It is in the Punjab alone that the taxation on justice has reached its limit, and it is in the Punjab alone that civil refunds are levied. The Judges refuse to interfere because the law does not allow them to interfere, although the cases may be of the grossest possible injustice. I say, taking all these things into consideration, if the scheme of separation is carried into effect in the Punjab, the Government will not have to incur any additional expenditure. But even if additional expenditure had to be incurred, I submit it would be better to incur it here than incur an expenditure of several crores on the frontier. If the people of the Rawalpindi, Peshawar and Kohat districts are discontented, I challenge the Government to say whether these fortresses on which they are spending so much money will protect the interests of the country. Let these people have justice, for it is justice alone that brings home to them the potentialities of a Government. They simply know the men who administer justice to them and if these Judges do not carry out their duties honestly and properly, I challenge any Government to keep secure on its own foundations. The Government undermines its own foundations by not completely separating the judiciary from the executive. It is high time that we should remind the Government that the Punjab is no longer that infant province requiring to be governed by military officers who come here, without any legal training, as Deputy Commissioners and preside over courts of which they are unable to uphold the prestige. It is under these circumstances that I, from the Punjab, heartily support this resolution and appeal to the gentleman presiding over this Congress that he will specially relate the hardships of the Punjab in the House of Commons. It is there alone that we can get redress. We, Punjabis, have not the moral courage and education to come forward as we should and therefore it is that our case suffers and we appeal to you to have the case taken before the highest tribunal, namely, the British House of Commons.[4]

4. After some further debate Kali Charan Banerji's resolution was passed unanimously.

4
ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

1. Export of Bones from India[1]

Dear Sir, Now when the correspondence between Lalas Lal Chand[2] and Amolak Ram,[3] two of our respected friends, seems to have come to a close, I beg to be permitted to thank Lala Amolak Ram for the suggestions thrown out by him. Really the matter is of vital importance, and, I hope, now that the question of the usefulness of the Bench and the Bar has been so brought to the front, both will unite to illustrate the truth of the proverb that sometimes good comes out of evil. Let us be up and do what little we can towards the improvement of the material resources of the country.

Without pretending to devise schemes, I take the liberty to make one practical suggestion and hope it will meet with a friendly response. I suppose that everyone knows the fact that lakhs of maunds of bones are being exported from India, but, I am sorry to say, there are very few who realize the magnitude of the loss which India suffers thereby. It is of first importance that steps be taken to inform the public of the uses of these bones, because if once the peasants and cultivators conceive the immense loss which they and their lands suffer by the removal of these bones from the country, they will do everything in their power to stop the exportation as much as possible. In fact, the exportation means a grave danger to the productive power of our lands. Every well-wisher of this country, whether rich or poor, educated or uneducated, can do material service in the matter. The great bulk of Government revenue depending upon the produce of the land, its aid may be legitimately evoked. All District Boards and landholders will, I trust, be only too glad to give any help they can if once the matter is explained to them. If Lala Amolak Ram succeeds in forming a society on the lines he has suggested—and I heartily wish him success—then he will have done a service to his country. As for myself, I am ready to join and do what I can. Let us form an association with this single object in view for the present and begin to work in earnest. Pamphlets and leaflets explaining the

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 11 February 1891.
2. (1852-1912); lawyer of Lahore; joined Arya Samaj in 1877; elected first President of D.A.V. College Managing Committee in 1886 and remained its President for several years; one of the founders of Punjab National Bank; founded Punjab Hindu Sabha in 1909 and became its first President; author of *Self-Abnegation in Politics*.
3. Lawyer of Rawalpindi; later joined Government service and retired as Extra Assistant Commissioner; Secretary, District Indian Association, Rawalpindi; arrested in the Rawalpindi riot case (Pindi disturbances) in 1907 but acquitted after trial.

uses of bones should be prepared in all vernacular languages and distributed broadly.

I hope that something practical will come out of this humble suggestion.

Hissar
Dated 5th February, 1891

Yours truly,
Lajpat Rai

2. Bones Again[1]

Sir, Mine of the 11th instant has, it appears, attracted some notice. A gentleman from Gujranwala wrote to me for a pamphlet upon the subject, and I regret to say I had to disappoint him by saying in reply that I had none. I have, however, since then, written to the best authority—the Director of Agriculture in the Province—and asked him to help me with the names of books or pamphlets which may contain all the necessary information about the uses of bones as manure &c. A European officer spoke in very high terms of the utility of any step that may be taken to inform the people of the great improvement that bones, if properly used, can effect in the material resources of the country.

As to the suggestion of forming a Society at Hissar, I fear that is a little impracticable, because Hissar is one of the most backward districts in the matter of education and there are very few enlightened Zamindars in the whole district. The members of the Skinner family are the biggest landholders and they, taking cash rent, are little disposed to take any interest in a matter which they think is below their dignity. With these difficulties before me I would prefer that some other place be chosen for the locality of such a society. I will meantime try all I can by way of collecting the necessary information and interesting the people in the movement.

By the by, the following information taken from a standard book of Farming will, I hope, be read with interest. It is just to show the value of bones as a manure:

> J. Haunam tried 2 quarters of burnt bone . . . on Matson's white globe turnips and obtained an increase of 9 tons 16 cwt 1lb on 16 tons 1 cwt of turnips and which . . . left a profit of £2-18s-9d on 1 acre.

Hissar
19th Feb. 1891

Yours truly,
Lajpat Rai

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 25 February 1891.

3. Indians and Trade with England[1]

Dear Sir, I was just thinking of writing to you with a copy of a letter lately received by me from Mr. Pincott when I read the letter of our indefatigable friend Lala Amolak Ram, accompanied by a copy of letter received from the same gentleman[2]. Lala Amolak Ram is in fact a much more fast runner than myself, and I thank him for having saved me the trouble of sending a copy of the letter received by me, because the contents of the letter are, to a great extent, similar to that received by Lala Amolak Ram and published in your issue of the 11th April, 1891. I heartily agree with the sentiment expressed therein and I have already written to Mr. Pincott that I will be the first man to make the experiment of sending 1,000 maunds of wheat &c. direct to England and at my own risk. In fact, I have already given orders for the purchase of the said quantity of wheat just when the Zamindars reap the standing harvest. I have written to Mr. Pincott for detailed information on the subject.

I, for one, am ready to join the proposed company and some of my friends here are ready to join it. Let some important city make the start. We need not wait for lack of capital but should begin with as much as we may be able to secure, say Rs. 50,000. Let us induce 50 friends to run the risk of investing Rs. 1,000 each and let us secure the services of at least 2 or 3 men of business and make an immediate start.

As for the inquiries relating to the bone manufactory, I assure you that I have not forgotten my promise.[3] I have written to Mr. Pincott and some others as well for all the information required for the bone manufactory. I regret to say that none of those to whom I addressed in the matter up to this time could give me any help whatsoever. One of them could give me ample help if he had only wished to do so. However, I have not sat silent and I will wait for Mr. Pincott's reply before I write to anyone else in England.

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 18 April 1891.
2. Agreeing with Frederick Pincott's suggestion that Indians should form a "company for carrying on the export and import trade of India with England", Amolak Ram, in his letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 11 April 1891, had invited the businessmen and "influential" people of Punjab to form such a company, and written: "We have some excuse for our apathy and neglect in matters industrial, but our allowing the foreigners to reap exclusively the advantages of our export and import trade is certainly most culpable."
3. In the same letter, Amolak Ram had written he hoped Lajpat Rai was making enquiries, as promised by him, "about the various uses of bones, the modes of their preparation, the capital and the machinery required, etc."

Hoping our appeals will not go in vain and the Punjabi educated party will do something to take the initiative.

I remain.

Yours sincerely,
Lajpat Rai

Hissar, 15th April, 1891

4. On Charat Singh's Argument against Export of Wheat[1]

Sir, I have read Sirdar Charat Singh's letter dated 13th April, 1891, which appeared in your issue of the 18th April, 1891, with great interest. No doubt it has been written with the best of motives and contains some pathetic allusions to the present crisis and its arguments and conclusions do apparently, and specially in these days of scarcity of foodgrains, seem to be plausible. A careful examination of these arguments, however, will not fail to remove the impression created by his letter on its first perusal. The Sirdar means to protest against the scheme of reaping high profit from exportation of wheat, because he thinks that "it is wheat alone that the Indians want." In short, he does not protest against the exportation of wheat but against *its exportation for the sake of high profit*. He says: "Under the present circumstances of the Indians, when famine is a normal state of things, wheat must never be exported for the sake of high profit. *It may be exported to an extent to provide for the necessaries of other foreign people*, I mean not for high profit." (The italics are mine.) I fail to understand where exactly does the worthy Sirdar draw the line of distinction between the two ideas of exporting wheat to provide for the necessaries of other foreign people, and to export wheat for high profit. To my lay mind, if there is a distinction at all the distinction refers to the motive of the exporter and not to the fact of exportation. Then whence has the Sirdar got the idea that the exportation under the scheme of Mr. Pincott will be for the sake of high profit as contradistinguished from the motive of exportation to provide for the necessaries of other people? The very distinction shows that the Sirdar has quite misunderstood the scope of Mr. Pincott's and Lala Rai Amolak Ram's scheme. Mr. Pincott's suggestion as to Indians taking to trade direct with English firms in England has nothing to do with the nice distinction drawn by our friend.

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 25 April 1891.

What he has suggested is simply this: You sell wheat to European merchants in India who purchase it for exportation purposes and derive large profit therefrom. Instead of doing it send it direct to England and thus take the profit which the European merchant in India gets by exportation. The question is very simple. Under the present laws of free trade the exportation of wheat cannot be checked and no such fine philanthropic distinction can be maintained as proposed by Sirdar Sahib. Then, do you like to sell it to European firms who in their turn sell it in foreign countries or would you like to take your commodity direct to those foreign markets and thus keep to yourself the profit which the intermediate European agency pockets? I do not think the Sirdar means to say that the exportation of wheat becomes less heinous if exported through European agencies and that the moment it is exported direct the offence is aggravated. If not so, why has he been pleased to protest in such a pathetic style against our poor scheme of providing an easy outlet for some at least of our educated countrymen? Profit can only be the inducement of any employment. Manufactories you cannot establish for want of technical knowledge and sufficient capital and perhaps because manufactories even are not an unmixed blessing. They will throw thousands of your artisans and hand-labourers out of employment. Trade you should not take to, because you have got only raw productions to send forth as wheat, linseed &c., and because the exportation of these things for high profit is condemned. The question remains, what simple occupation can offer as inducement of profit? There is no question of high profit but of such only as may enable us to sustain ourselves and those who depend upon us.

I should not be construed as throwing cold water upon the noble sentiments of my friend, but what I mean to protest against is the opportunity he has sought for their expression. It is only suchlike inconsistent but sentimental arguing that keeps us away from all sorts of commercial enterprises and keeps us confined within the four walls of Government employment or the so-called learned professions. The trading classes are already losing heart because of the competition by the European merchants who have the advantages of large sums of capital, a superior education, a knowledge of the foreign markets and the possession of an enterprising spirit. Yes, my friend, I agree that the exportation of wheat is telling very hardly upon us. Though it does not affect the poorest classes so much as it affects the rich ones, because it is more than half a century since they had ceased to look upon wheat as their food stock and because they mainly depend upon inferior kind of grain, but still the exportation seriously affects the whole of the country at large. If middle classes cannot get wheat, they must fall upon other inferior kinds of grain which will in its turn become dearer and out of the reach of the poor. I am no advocate of philanthropy at one's own cost. Charity begins at home and therefore so far as the sentimental

side of the scheme is concerned the question is *free exportation, limited exportation or no exportation at all.* The whole country will hail any solution which may secure a decent supply of wheat to all classes of Indians at moderate prices. But the solution is not in our hands. It is simply impossible to arrive at such a solution as long as the doctrine of free trade is in full force in India. Yes, it is only legislative action that can find a specific cure for the disease and so long as this is not done it is misapplied philanthropy to sit silent and not derive what little profit we can derive from a direct trade with foreign markets. Rather, our action may in some degree cause the foreign markets to become a little cheaper than they otherwise are and thus make it less profitable for exporters to export wheat in large quantities. The objection as to the exportation of wheat applies with equal force as to the exportation of rape-seed. The Government has recently remitted all octroi duties upon all sorts of these seeds and the Europeans have been exporting rape-seed and linseed &c. in immense quantities—quantities that had their natural result of lessening the supply of *Sirson ka Tel* (rape-seed oil) for the use of natives. The rise in the price of this oil and the fall in the price of kerosene oil is gradually, imperceptibly, but very seriously, affecting the health of our countrymen. Thus, my dear friend, the issues raised are momentous and I, nay the whole country, should welcome any discussion upon them provided the discussion is not carried on on sentimental grounds but deals with stern realities and hard facts.

Hoping that the above lines will afford your readers ample hints for deliberating over the future fate of their mother country.

I beg to remain,

Hissar
21st April, 1891

Yours sincerely,
Lajpat Rai

5. Reaction to Charat Singh's Reply[1]

Dear Sir, I have read Sirdar Charat Singh's letter dated 30th April published in your issue of the 6th May with great interest.[2] I expected a retort and I am glad

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 13 May 1891.
2. Criticizing Lajpat Rai's scheme of exporting wheat to foreign countries, Charat Singh, in his letter, had observed that in view of the scarcity of foodgrains in India, it was not advisable to export wheat, and that if Lajpat Rai did so he would be acting merely as an agent of those European firms which were exporting wheat from India for profit. He, however, added that exporting wheat to England to provide for its "necessities" was justified as India was dependent upon it from "civil as well as military points of view".

I have got one; glad because the letter will give me another opportunity of placing the real problem before the public and giving them an idea of the really difficult position we are in. However, before I proceed to do so I must say that I have failed to follow Sirdar Sahib's arguments. He put the case very clearly so long as he kept complaining against our helping the export trade, but I think he has gone quite astray when he took to defending a limited exportation for supplying the necessaries of England. I cannot help thinking (I may be mistaken though) that my friend has quite evaded the real issue. Let me make my position more clear, if it was not sufficiently clear already, to be properly digested and answered. My position is this:

(*a*) I agree with Sirdar Sahib that the scarcity of foodgrains is a sad calamity, which has affected and will always affect the poorest classes very much and that it is worth while to consider the remedy.

(*b*) That the remedy does not lie in making the queer distinction between exportation for the necessaries of England and exportation for the necessaries of other countries.

(*c*) That it is simply impossible to maintain the distinction.

(*d*) That the Government is not likely to interfere (it seems very difficult how it can).

(*e*) That in view of the expansion of the wheat trade under European agency is it advisable or not that efforts should be made that the wheat which is being exported to England (not to mention the names of other countries out of respect to Sirdar Sahib's feelings) be exported through native agency? Some will cry out that it is ignominious to assist in a business which is ruinous to the interests of our own masses. But I reply that it is only natural to take advantage of the inevitable. Take it this way. Supposing we wish that the wheat export be abolished, we know that it cannot and will not be abolished, because (to use Sirdar Sahib's idea) it supplies the English nation with the necessaries of life; we know that it cannot be limited, 1st, because it is not practicable to draw the distinction insisted on by Sirdar Sahib; 2ndly, because it will affect the price of food in England; 3rdly, because it will affect the Indian cultivators and thereby the Government land revenue; 4thly, agriculture thus becoming less paying, it will throw many a poor man out of employ; 5thly, because it is really doubtful whether a tax on export which is the only way of limiting the export trade will not be detrimental to India on the whole. Now add to all this our knowledge of the great commercial spirit of the European, of the fact that the European firms have taken to deal with the cultivators direct and thus have ruined that class of the native trader which acted as agents both to the European as well as to the cultivator. I ask, is it not advisable to make an effort towards the reconstruction of that class which has now been thrown out of employment in a way that may

conduce both to the advantage of the cultivator as well as the commerce of the country? Sirdar Sahib might say in reply that this scheme proposes to take away what little wheat remains after that exported by Europeans. I say, no; this scheme only proposes to take steps by which it may be to the advantage, or at least not to the disadvantage, of cultivators to sell to the natives what they would otherwise sell to European firms. Then the success of the scheme, if ensured, means a safeguard for the country, whenever it appears that wheat crops have not been so plentiful as to supply the surplus for exports. Because in that case the wheat trade being in the hands of natives they can sell it though at high prices in India itself. It is my humble opinion that if the scheme be thus widely approved of, and adopted by the whole commercial community, it may, under the inevitable circumstances stated above, turn out to be a blessing—a blessing coming out of an evil.

I do not think the real problem which we will have to meet is the question of food supply. It is in fact a question of poverty. If England can afford to buy wheat at 5 or, say, 6 or 10 seers a rupee, it is only because it is sufficiently rich to do so and because rates of wages allow its people and labouring classes to buy it at that rate. Now, my dear Sir, with your artisan class disappearing from the face of the earth and a good many of them taking to agriculture and thus reducing the area of land to be cultivated by each, the real problem is not affected by natives abstaining to derive what little profit they can by the wheat trade but can only be solved by other means. Look at the full extent of the calamity. The disappearance of the artisan class is being followed by the disappearance of the native trading class. Even the veteran traders of India, the much-abused *Bania* class, are taking to agriculture. Yes, it is a fact, come and I will show you. Even the money-lending business is going out of their hands and European bankers are fast multiplying everywhere. The poor village moneylender is being decried, because some of his class, being driven by poverty and tempted by the opportunity afforded to them by the elaborate English laws, take to illegal means of recovering their debts and filling their coffers. All these gentlemen, who are so demonstrative in their compassion for the agricultural classes, and who wax so eloquent in their denunciation of the *Bania*, should think whether their sympathy and compassion cannot be better applied in giving material help to the agriculturists by inducing the Government to reimpose the import duties.

The necessary consequence will be that all those artisans and men of other professions who have taken to agriculture as their last resort from starvation will go to their respective professions and leave the poor agriculturists sufficient land to till and raise profit therefrom. I will conclude my letter with this remark that I have never meant to say that wheat is the only thing to be exported by us; what I meant to protest against was the sentimental objections which operate

as a bar against every idea of commercial enterprise. If my countrymen cannot afford to export wheat and if they can take any step by which they can lessen the quantity of wheat for exportation, or, in the words of S. Charat Singh, "minimise" the wheat exportation they are welcome to do so.

Leaving this, we are all agreed that something should be done to improve the material resources of the country. Some practical suggestions have already been thrown out and several gentlemen have offered their services. Let us utilize this opportunity. *I propose that we should meet at Lahore on the 30th and 31st of this month and at once form an Association for this purpose.*[3]

Yours very sincerely,
Hissar, 10th May, 1891 Lajpat Rai

3. Italicized in the source.

6. Bone Manure[1]

Dear Sir, I have received the following reply to my enquiries about bone manure from Mr. Pincott which I hereby publish for general information.

> This is an industry which concerns India, for it will enable the land to produce double the quantity of wheat &c. Bone manure is made in the following manner: The bones are first boiled so that any fat and grease upon them may be skimmed off the water and used in the manufacture of soap or any other purpose for which coarse fat is useful. The bones are then taken from the vat in which they are boiled and are broken into small pieces about 1 inch in size. They may first be baked over a fire to make them break up easily; but it is not necessary to bake them. When the bones are broken up they are mixed with sulphuric acid and water in the following proportions: 2 lbs bones: 1 lb sulphuric acid: 3 lbs water. The water is put in first, the acid is added and stirred round and then the bones are thrown in. The mixture is allowed to stand for a few days, and is then run out, and allowed to cool and consolidate. It is then broken up and ground to a fine powder. This is superphosphate; and it is a very strong manure. For most purposes this is too strong and farmers prefer the 'Reduced Super' as it is

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 6 June 1891.

called. The strong super phosphate is kept for 8 or 9 months. 2 tons of this 'Super' are then mixed with 1 ton of small bones (about ¼ inch each). These small bones are first moistened with water to make them a little damp; they are then thoroughly well mixed with this 'Super', and left to rest in a great heap. In a few days the mixture gets very hot and continues hot for several weeks; but at the end of five or six weeks it is ready for use. . . .

You are, of course, aware that the bones of any animal are useful for the purpose, such as vicious crocodiles. If you could get crocodiles shot or trapped, the bones and flesh could be made into manure and the skin could be sent to Messrs. Hutchinson & Co. to sell on your account. The skin of a crocodile of common size in good condition is worth about Rs.10 and this price would pay for all the costs of your Manufactory and leave the manure wholly a profit. This skin has only to be stripped off the carcass and stretched out flat with pegs to dry in the sun.

My friend Lala Kanshi Ram,[2] Pleader, Ferozepore, has promised to try to prepare bone manure provided we can find a market for the same. Lala Ruchi Ram's[3] leaflet must have been read by many of your readers. The said leaflet should be got printed in almost all the vernacular languages of the province and circulated and broadcast. Lala Ruchi Ram should, I think, move the Punjab Science Institute to enlist the sympathy of the District Boards in the matter. District Boards should be applied to get these leaflets supplemented by the information supplied herein, to get them printed at their own cost and circulated amongst the agricultural population of the Province. This should be done immediately. One of my friends here at Hissar will also, I hope, take steps to make the experiment. There is no doubt that bone manure will improve our agricultural products very materially and I don't think anybody can have any objection to use it when people have now to use other kinds of refuse.

Messrs. Hutchinson & Co. have published a printed circular wherein they have given all the information required for facilitating transhipment of goods from India to England. They have also given a memo of accounts showing the

2. Pleader of Ferozepur and an Arya Samajist; member, D.A.V. College Managing Committee, 1886.
3. (1863-1948); founder-member of Lahore Brahmo Samaj; one of the founders of *The Tribune* (1881) and its trustee; Professor, Government College, Lahore, 1887-1918; honorary Secretary, Dayal Singh Public Library and Dayal Singh College, Lahore; supported non-cooperation movement and Gurdwara reform movement; elected to Punjab Legislative Council in 1923; fellow of Punjab University for several years.

estimate of all sorts of costs, which are usually incurred in this trade. You must have received a copy of that circular which it is hoped you will publish in your paper, and, therefore, I need not recapitulate the same here.

Hissar

Yours sincerely,
Lajpat Rai

5

EDUCATION

I. General

1. Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College[1]

"How dear sounds the name with which our heading commences," is the question which should be put to every true well-wisher of this fallen Aryavarta. On the answer which is sure to be in the affirmative in the superlative degree, we will venture to ask them another question, viz. "how slowly and degenerately are his debts being repaid by those of whom he was a guide to be marked at." Ye Aryas! ye, who profess to be so many patriots, ye, who are said to be ready to sacrifice your lives for the sake of your dear India, think awhile about what you are doing to commemorate the memory of that honoured name with the mourning for whose death the four walls of India have been echoing. The slow progress, which has attended your proposal for the establishment of an Anglo-Vedic College in honour of Swami Dayanand Saraswati, marks that want of zeal which has been the chief cause of our degeneration. I call upon the wealthy followers of that revered Swami, I call upon the Rajas and Maharajas of Rajputana, to be up and stretch forth their generous hands to the help of an institution which is proposed to be established for the benefit of the rising and future generations of Bharatwarsh. Let us think for a while what disgrace we shall have to suffer if the proposal of ours falls to the ground on account of our scanty pecuniary contributions. The Punjab Samajes seem to have derived great advantage from that bias which has been kindled by our Mahomedan brothers at Aligarh. Great credit is due to the Amritsar, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Multan, Ferozepore and Ludhiana Samajes, who, in spite of having the misfortune of being poor, have left no stone unturned to raise subscription for the Anglo-Vedic College. Some Samajes as those of Lahore and Amritsar have gone so far in their zeal for the cause of their religion as to depute some of their respectable members to beg subscriptions from door to door. Our friends of Lahore would be aware of the services of Bhai Nihal Singh, who had been going from door to door at Lahore and Ludhiana for the sake of his beloved motherland. Young Punjab seems to have imbibed that Vedic lore which the deceased Swami so much tried to pour into our ears. We take this opportunity of offering our individual thanks to those members and non-members who have undergone troubles in trying to raise subscription for the Anglo-Vedic College, and we feel grateful for the noble exertions of Bhai Nihal Singh especially. Dear countrymen!

1. Printed in *The Regenerator of Aryavarta* of 3 March 1884.

"Let us then be up and doing
With a heart for any fate,
Still achieving, and still pursuing,
Learn to labour and to wait."

2. Honour to D.A.V. College Authorities[1]

Dear Sir, There can be no doubt that the Arya Samajes of the Punjab are doing a great service in the matter of education. What has up to this time been achieved by the self-sacrificing exertions of the Punjab Arya Samajes is a bright example in the history of modern India. Colleges may have been established by C.S.I.s having big Nawabs, Rajas and Maharajas at their back. Institutions may have been founded by millionaires or by philanthropic individual donors. But as far as I know there is no institution in India which has been established *by* the people, *with* the money of the people, *for* the people and with aims so noble and grand as those of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College of Lahore.

The D.A.V. College is a child of four years yet. The success which it has been its good fortune to secure within the short period of its life speaks volumes in favour of its management and teaching. Year by year the number of scholars has been on the increase till the college authorities have been forced to admit that there is no room for new admissions. Year after year the Government educational institutions, with high-salaried teachers and having splendid appliances and apparatuses, have been beaten by the poorly-manned infant institution.

But notwithstanding all this what has the Punjab Government done for the encouragement of the source of this noble indigenous educational institution? Nothing gave a bare mention of it in the annual review. It may be asked what did the authorities of the institution ask for which was refused. I say the recognition should have come unasked. Though the D.A.V. College authorities do not like the idea of accepting a favour, fearing Government interference in their management, they would gratefully and thankfully accept any other help which will not in the slightest degree interfere in the indigenous growth of the institution.

Is it not a matter of regret that the Arya Samaj or, say, the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College has no voice in the Senate of the Local University. Fellowships

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 5 February 1890.

bestowed on some members of the Managing Committee would be a solid gain to the cause of education in the province, besides being a graceful acknowledgement of their efforts in the cause. Some honour bestowed upon the noble Honorary Principal of the D.A.V. College and the President of its Managing Committee would have been worthy of the British Government. Year by year Fellows are being added to the already voluminous list of Senators of the Punjab University who have done nothing in the cause of education in comparison with the Principal and the managers of the D.A.V. College, Lahore. Amongst the last year's appointments to the Senate of the Punjab University one would hardly search for a worthier name than those of Lala Hans Raj, B.A.,[2] and Lala Lal Chand, M.A. I challenge the Punjab Government to show me a single one out of the appointments of recent years who have done so much in the cause of education as the gentlemen named above. I hope the attention of our justice-loving Lieutenant-Governor will be drawn to this. Better late than never.

A Punjabi

2. (1864-1938); a prominent member of Arya Samaj; Headmaster, D.A.V. School, 1886-89, became its Principal when it became a College in 1889 and served for 25 years; actively associated with famine relief work during 1897-98 and 1899-1900; President, D.A.V. College Trust and Managing Committee, 1912-18; leader of the College Party during the Arya Samaj split; took leading part in the *Shuddhi* movement; presided over the first Aryan Congress of Arya Samajists of India and other countries held in Delhi in 1927.

3. On Poor Results of Middle School Examination of D.A.V. School[1]

Sir, The result of the Anglo-Vernacular Middle School Examination has been exceptionally bad this year. The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic School is one of the institutions in which the number of failures was very large. Speculation is rife as to the causes of this bad result but mere speculation will not do. It is more a question of facts and figures, but when people will try to find out the cause without having recourse to these it is no wonder they will fall into mistakes. It has been stated in some quarters that there was a frequent change in the staff of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic School and this led to the unhappy result. If people only take the trouble of enquiring into facts for themselves before rushing into

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 22 March 1893.

print they would save the public from being misled by their reckless statements and themselves from sorrow and shame for having needlessly made them. The following extract from the published result will show that the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic School sent 71 candidates for the examination out of whom only 4 passed. The failures in the different subjects were—

In English	53 out of 71
In Arithmetic and Mensuration	11 out of 71
In History and Geography	11 out of 71
In Sanskrit	02 out of 30

In Hindi and Urdu and Elementary Science there was no failure. 53 failed in English only. It is evident from the above that the failure of 53 boys out of 71 is due to the failures in English alone and that in other subjects the results are very satisfactory. Now, it is remarkable that with the exception of one single month when the teacher of English was on leave there was no change in the staff so far as the teaching of English is concerned. The same teacher who has had the charge of the teaching of English in previous years when the results always compared favourably with the best institutions in the Province taught this class during the whole year excepting when he was on leave for one month in 1892.

I may take this opportunity of pointing out that the statement made in the columns of a local paper that the agitation in connection with the result of the Middle School Examination has been set on foot in the interests of the D.A.V. School is without foundation. The same may be said of the insinuation that the letter which appeared in your columns under the signature of Lala Jaishi Ram[2] was written at our instance. This institution or rather the students who read in it do not suffer much by failing in the Middle School Examination. Their promotion to the Upper Class is entirely in our hands, and it will be given to those who deserve it irrespective of the results.

It is worth noting that the students were, before being sent up for the examination, subjected to a careful test examination and it is extremely inexplicable how such a large number failed so badly in the University Examination.

Lajpat Rai
Secretary, D.A.V. College
Managing Committee

2. (1875-1900); eminent Arya Samajist and Congressman of Lahore; member of Managing Committee of D.A.V. College, Lahore, 1895; elected Director of Punjab National Bank in 1898.

4. To Chetan Shah[1]

Dear Sir,[2]

The money contributed by you towards the J. Shah Memorial Fund up to the 4th of July 1893 amounts to Rs. 220.[3] The rumours referred to in your letter are quite unfounded. There is no prospect of the College being altered into a purely Sanskrit teaching institution. In fact this is against the rules and cannot be done. Moreover, yours is a special donation which must be applied for the purpose meant. The committee is really very much obliged to you for the assistance you have been affording us from time to time.

Lajpat Rai
27.07.1893

1. D.A.V. College Managing Committee Papers, File No. 212, p. 120, Nehru Memorial Museum & Library (henceforth N.M.M.L.)
2. Son of Jus Shah and Civil Surgeon of Ludhiana
3. Chetan Shah had written to Lajpat Rai, who at that time was the Secretary of the Managing Committee of D.A.V. College, Lahore, enquiring how much money had been received on account of Bhai Jus Shah Memorial Fund, and added: "It is rumoured that great alterations are going to take place in the curriculum of the students of the College and that the tendency of the change is towards making the College an almost entirely Sanskrit institution. If this be the case I must withhold making further contribution to my father's memorial fund in the D.A.V. College and must seek some other way for applying some more money that I intended to add to the fund under your committee's charge."

5. On Government's Responsibility for Education[1]

Mr. President,[2] brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,

The first two portions of the subject have been thoroughly thrashed out in previous Congresses and suffice it for me to say that in discouraging higher education and in reducing the expenditure upon it, the Government is laying itself open to a charge of forgetting its noble mission and work in India, and of

1. Speech at the Congress session, Lahore, 29 December 1893. *Report of the Indian National Congress, Ninth Session, Lahore, 1893*, pp. 121-2.
2. Dadabhai Naoroji

forgetting the high ideal chalked out for it by the founders of the Empire.[3] While other civilized countries, like Europe and America, are spending large sums of money on education it is a matter of regret that the Government of India is reducing that expenditure. As to the question of technical education, I beg to submit that it is of still greater importance. While civilized countries, like Europe and America, are devising national systems of technical education in order to fit their citizens to compete with other civilized countries in the arts and industries, India, with its growing poverty and starving population and its embarrassed exchequer is sleeping. No care has been taken of industries of the country. The students are not taught to live independently of Government employment and still it is said, the people of India do not like learning for learning's sake and hanker after Government employment; but how can a nation with an average income of Rs. 22 per head pursue learning for learning's sake? How are we to fill our stomachs, if the education of the country means only to fit ourselves for Government clerkships or law professorships, neither of which can improve the material prosperity of the country itself? Therefore it is essential for the material progress of the country that the Government should look into the matter and provide technical instruction in schools and colleges and enable us to earn our livelihood independently of Government employment and become useful citizens of the Empire. This leads me to the third and fourth portions of the resolution with which we, Punjabis, are particularly concerned. It is forty-four years since the Punjab came under British sway and it is thirty or thirty-five years that the Department of Public Instruction has been started here; but do you know what progress has been made since then? One of the two Government colleges has been abolished. I mean the Delhi Government College. The fees in Government colleges have been this year raised from Rs. 2 to Rs. 12 per mensem and they have also been raised in schools. The bravery of the Punjabis, the Sikhs, and the Rajputs on the fields of Egypt, Abyssinia and Afghanistan has been rewarded by shutting the doors of higher education and the benefits of civilization to their children. I say how can the son of a soldier drawing Rs. 7 per month afford to pay, for exactly the same period without a day or even an hour more or less, from Rs. 8 to Rs. 12 for his education, besides providing him and the other members of the family with food, clothing

3. A resolution had been moved by M.B. Namjoshi protesting against the reduction of Government grants for higher education and affirming the importance of increased public expenditure on all branches of education including the technical education. The resolution also suggested that for the planning of technical education a Commission should be appointed to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country, and recommended that the fees charged from poor students be reduced, and that more attention be paid to the physical development of the students in all grades of schools and colleges.

and other necessaries? The Government is of course very anxious for the welfare of the martial races and the Mahomedans particularly, but that anxiety is shown by shutting the doors of education for their sons. Is it because the Government thinks, this high education will make them unfit to serve as soldiers, or does it think that the Punjab is so rich as to take care of its own education? The Government may think that it is doing us a great favour by saving the sons of the Punjab from that depressed life which the educated India is destined to enjoy. The Government may think also that it is protecting the physique of the Punjabis by depriving them of this high education, but if this is its idea, I submit, the Government is mistaken, because it is not barbarous physique alone that raises a nation, it is moral courage with the force of intelligence at the back of it that makes a nation. This is what the Government has provided for the sons of the poor soldier. Now, let us see what the Government and the Universities do for the sons of the weak and the rich. On one side the sons of the strong, the sons of the soldier, should receive no education at all; on the other side the sons of the weak and the rich may receive an education, but an education which shortens their life, an education which makes them drag on a miserable life even after they leave their colleges. It is an education which makes them totally unfit for practical purposes and the result is that very few pass through the course but all prepare for premature death. The percentage for passing is so high that a student is required to go through a legion of books on a legion of subjects and obtain a very high percentage of marks in each before he can pass the examinations. I say to Senators very respectfully and humbly that the responsibility which they incur is very serious. To develop the mental state at a cost of the physical is to make a nation of pigmies which we do not want to be. Therefore, I appeal to you, Senators, in the names of sons and brothers, I appeal to you in the name of the country to take up the matter seriously and redress the grievance which we feel so strongly and acutely. The strain is so great that the strong may not receive any education and the weak may die by that education. The strong will remain ignorant and the weak will die. Why should Indians make themselves parties to such a mistaken system? I hope the Senators here will swear to look into the matter as soon as they go to do their duties in the Universities. I heartily support the resolution.[4]

4. The resolution was, after debate, passed unanimously.

6. To Secretary, Arya Samaj, Ludhiana[1]

Lahore
Dated 13.3.1894

Sir,

Dr. Chetan Shah Khan Bahadur, Civil Surgeon, Ludhiana, informs me that he paid you Rs. 50/00/00 on account of Bhai Jus Shah Memorial Fund. I have the honour to request you to remit the money soon, so that I may credit it in the accounts and send him the acknowledgement.

Yours &c.,
Lajpat Rai
Secretary

1. D.A.V. College Managing Committee Papers, File No. 212, p. 88, N.M.M.L.

7. Female Education[1]

Sir, I am indeed happy to find that this time a man of Lala Sunder Das Suri's[2] erudition has taken up the cudgels on behalf of the proposed Kanya Mahavidyalaya of Jullundhar.[3] His name and the first portion of his letter raised my hopes very high and I expected to find something valuable coming from so worthy a pen. But it is a pity that my hopes were sadly frustrated before the end

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 28 March 1894.
2. Eldest son of Lala Sain Das, a well-known Arya Samajist leader of Jalandhar; first Headmaster of Sain Das Anglo-Sanskrit High School, Jalandhar; works include *Pearl Necklace*; d. 1900.
3. Regarding the scheme prepared by the Arya Samaj of Jullundhar (now Jalandhar) to establish a Kanya Mahavidyalaya in the city, Sunder Das Suri, in his letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 21 March 1894, had disagreed with Lajpat Rai's view, expressed in the two articles published in the *Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College Samachar*, that such an institution would be established "at the expense of elementary education in the Province", and written: "I do not belong to the Arya Samaj and have no wish to meddle with matters which they can best settle themselves. . . . I should indeed very much like if the question were rescued from party polemics and discussed calmly and without any bias."

was reached. I have, however, to thank him for the fairness with which he has stated my views on the theoretical side of high education of women. On the practical side of the question however he has not done justice to the cause set up by me.

Instead of giving a faithful reproduction of my views he has caught hold of a stray argument and assailed it. How far he has succeeded in doing so is to be judged by the reader. One of the propositions asserted by me in the paper under criticism was that the education of girls would mainly depend upon the spread of education among boys, that the prejudices and the customs of the country being all arrayed against the education of girls, it required a great advance in the education of males before the education of females could make a perceptible progress. I maintained, and do so still, that the spread of education among males had some strong and important inducements to back it, while the education of girls cannot necessarily derive any support from the same motives for education. Hence, I said, the difference between the progress in the education of boys and that of the girls. How to accelerate this progress? This, I said, depended upon the vast spread of high education among our males, the destruction of those prejudices and the removal of those pernicious customs that work against it. This, of course, required time and patience. As an illustration of the difficulties that beset the advance of female education in this country, I maintained that these difficulties had proved so invincible that, notwithstanding the inducements of many scholarships and prizes, a Government which had crores of rupees in its Treasury and was prepared to spend a portion on education, had not yet succeeded in establishing a single High School or College for girls, thereby showing that, in its opinion too, such *an important work*[4] depended on the spread of education amongst men. I leave it to the reader to judge how far the above line of argument would go to show that, in the opinion of the writer, it follows "that the people too would fail in a like attempt". So far then Lala Sunder Das has been demolishing an imaginary fortress.

Now to the proposition itself. My learned friend has been forced to admit that so far as the Punjab is concerned it is substantially true. My second article on the same subject published in the February number of the *Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College Samachar*,[5] which was out probably long before the conception of this letter, shows whether I meant to make this statement with reference to the Punjab alone, or with reference to the whole of India. It is a matter for serious reflection, however, to find that it is *almost correct* with reference to the whole of India so far as the collegiate education of the girls is concerned and very near the truth so far as the High Schools for girls are in question. Of

4. These and other words printed in italics in this letter are italicized in the source.
5. A monthly journal started by Lajpat Rai in 1893; he was also its first editor.

course, I draw this conclusion on facts and figures supplied by Lala Sunder Das. Let us examine the list of colleges and schools for girls supplied to us by him. Bengal shows a score of two only—one College and one High School. The latter is an unaided institution maintained by Brahmos and the former a College, expenses of which are borne by the State. The latter was started so late as in 1891-92 and had, in 1892-93, 89 scholars with a total expenditure of Rs. 35,000. My friends, these figures afford a sad commentary on the progress of high education among females in Bengal. After more than a century of high education, with more than 2 dozens of colleges for boys, with its millionaires, wealthy and public spirited Zamindars, Rajas and Maharajas, after more than half a century's work of the Brahmo Samaj the apostles of female education in Bengal succeeded in establishing a High School in 1891-92 where Rs. 35,000 (a year presumably as it is not expressly stated therein) are spent upon providing education to 89 scholars. Proportionate to the progress of high education in males, Bengal should have spent several lacs a year on the education of girls and should have shown a more hopeful record.

With such a small measure of success in Bengal do our enthusiastic friends in the Punjab mean to overstep that far ahead Province? As about the Bethune College, let the reader remember that it was *not established by the Government.* The generosity of an Englishman[6] found out sufficient money for its starting. Then a benevolent Governor-General[7] maintained it so long as he could by his private purse and subsequently exerted his influence in getting the charge transferred to the State. It was started in 1849 and took full 43 years to show a roll of 20 scholars in its College Department.

Turning to the Bombay Presidency, a Girls' High school is said to have been established at Poona in 1884. *An expenditure of Rs. 17,000* (presumably a year) on an *attendance of 69 girls.* (The italics are mine). This again is an aided institution. No figures are given of the High School attached to Mahalaxmi Female Training College at Ahmedabad, nor is it stated who maintains it and this (perhaps) exhausts the long list of High Schools for the education of girls in India.

Notwithstanding that these instances have failed to shake my opinion as to the movement of the proposed Kanya Mahavidyalaya being yet premature in the Punjab, I am prepared to agree with Lala Sunder Das that *practicable noble schemes might thoughtfully* be devised according to *local needs* to impart

6. J.W. Bethune, Law Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council and President of the Education Committee of the East India Company, had founded the Calcutta Female College in 1849 which was renamed Bethune College after his death in 1851.
7. After the death of Bethune, Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General, met the expenses of the college from his private purse for about five years.

higher education to girls *as they advance in scholastic training*. (The italics are mine.) I wish to draw special attention to the expressions "practicable", 'local needs', "higher", &c. that appear in italics. In the paper referred to by Lala Sunder Das I have given some practicable suggestions for advancing the cause of female education in the Province. In these suggestions I have laid particular stress on *local needs* and asked the friends of female education to devise their schemes in accordance therewith. I wish my learned friend will give a thought to those suggestions and enlighten the public with his views on the same. Let Lala Sunder Das remember that I am no advocate of the policy of "sit silent till opportunity forces itself upon you". I am always for an advance but for a *sure and steady advance* which may be consistent with the interests of education in general *both of boys and of girls*. That of the former must, in my opinion, in the peculiar circumstances of our situation, precede that of the latter *as a class*. Sufficient primary education of the latter as a class must be assured before we proceed to apply our means to the high education of a few of them. Let Lala Sunder Das discuss the main question and not divert the public attention to side issues.

Lahore
26th March, 1894

Yours sincerely,
Lajpat Rai

8. To Chetan Shah[1]

2.11.1895

Sir,

I beg to inform you that the remittances made by you for Bhai Jus Shah Memorial fund amount to Rs. 670-8-00 which at 4% yield an annual income of 26/13/00. This sum is not sufficient for payment of a scholarship. I beg, therefore, to enquire whether a stipend may be given until such time as the funds supplied by you bring a sufficient income to give a scholarship.

Yours etc.,
Lajpat Rai

1. D.A.V. College Managing Committee Papers, File No. 212, p. 29, N.M.M.L.

9. On the Opening of a New School at Rawalpindi[1]

The British rule has given us peace. It is impossible to describe what would be our condition without peace. We have also made great progress during this reign. For all these blessings we cannot fully express our sense of gratitude. But the blessing which pre-eminently of all entitles the British people to our lifelong gratitude and esteem is the blessing of education. It is English education which has enabled us to realize our position, and impressed upon us the fact that unless we progress with the times we will be left behind in the march of nations. It is English education again which has, strange to say, made us admire our past history.

We have become deeply indebted to the British people for their conferring on us this blessing of education by liberal contributions from the public treasuries. There is only one way in which we can attempt to pay off our heavy debt and it is by opening in our turn the doors of liberal education for our countrymen, and thus discharging the trust reposed in us. It is an attempt of this kind for which we have assembled on this occasion, and I rejoice to find that the British Government has through its representative shown that it appreciates our efforts in this direction.[2]

The new school which is going to be shortly opened will be a branch of the D.A.V. College, Lahore.[3] It is gratifying to find that the College is progressing steadily. About 13 years ago, the College was established to commemorate the sacred memory of one who devoted his life in revealing to our eyes the splendour and the treasures of the past. It is significant of a movement like the D.A.V. College that in so short a period we have collected through private subscriptions, without any big aid from any Raja, the handsome sum of three and a half lacs of rupees.

The school will be open to all, but its distinguishing trait will be that instruction in Hindi and Sanskrit will so far as possible be compulsory. Special attention will be paid to the moral training of its pupils so as to make them upright citizens and loyal subjects of Her Majesty the Queen. Some time will also be devoted to instruction in Vedic religion. The magnanimous British Government has given us latitude to follow our own religions, and we are only taking advantage of this high privilege.

1. Speech on the inauguration of the D.A.V. High School at Rawalpindi on 31 March 1899. *The Tribune*, 13 April 1899.
2. The chief guest on the occasion was C.L. Tupper, the Commissioner of Rawalpindi.
3. The D.A.V. School was established at Lahore in 1886 and it became a College in 1889.

I have every confidence that the school will soon be in a flourishing condition. All the attendant circumstances are favourable for a good result. The officials have by their presence shown that they will take an interest in the welfare of the school. The gentry of the city have, as would appear from a list which will be read to you, in a way promised that they would lend their helping hands. The Managing Committee comprising men of light and learning is a guarantee of successful management and, last but not least, the staff of the school includes zealous and industrious men who will spare no pains to make the school one of the most efficient in the Province. There is yet another reason. To the name of the school is added a magic name which, as shown by experience, overcomes every obstacle and leads the path to glory and success. It would be unfortunate indeed if under all these happy circumstances the school would be otherwise than a success. I appeal to the officials to extend their patronage to the movement in the name of their nation. I appeal to the gentry of the station to strenuously push on the work they have undertaken. I appeal to the members of the Managing Committee to work with renewed vigour till they have accomplished their noble task and lastly I appeal to the staff to work with heart and soul because they are expected to work not to the measure of their emoluments, but in response to the promptings of a nobler and more dignified ideal. I would like to say to the students that much more is expected of you than from the pupils of other institutions. Loyalty to the benign Government, under which you are living so peacefully, gratitude to the British nation, which has done so much for you, and services of your motherland should be your characteristic traits. I have every confidence that by the grace of the Almighty God you will, in course of time, become dutiful sons of your motherland and faithful and obedient subjects of Her Majesty the Queen Empress of India.

10. Test of Capacity to Translate from Urdu into English[1]

Sir, The first question in this paper requires the examinees to translate two passages given in Urdu and Hindi (alternately).[2] On the afternoon of the 19th, the day when this paper was given to the students, some of the latter came to me as I happened to be at that time in one of our Boarding Houses and asked me to read the Urdu passages, therein given—probably because in their opinion

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 22 March 1900. Extracts.
2. The reference was to the English paper (b) set for the Intermediate in Arts examination of the Punjab University.

I could have some pretension of knowing Urdu well, having written some books in that language. I read the first passage and as soon as I came to the last two lines I found that it was rather tough work and I thought that in their turn the boys wanted to test my knowledge of Urdu. To enlighten your readers I give the whole passage below as it is printed in the paper. . . .[3]

I have underlined the words which formed my difficulty. . . . I told them that I would consult others who were likely to know better than myself. But this did not satisfy them and they asked me to read the second passage as well. I reproduce the whole of that passage too. . . .

Let me tell you at once that this confounded me still more. I could not make out anything of the sentence underlined by me and had to say so. I took a paper and brought it to the tennis grounds where a number of gentlemen were engaged in playing tennis. From amongst them I selected Mian Muhammad Shah Din to refer the matter to as he is believed to be an Urdu scholar. As to the 1st passage, he read it exactly in the same way as I had done and let me finish it here by saying that on referring to Rai Bahadur Madan Gopal[4] and Lala Shadi Lal[5] they also could come to the same conclusion as I had arrived at on a 3rd or 4th reading of the passage. But the second passage proved to be a more difficult one.

Rai Bahadur Madan Gopal could make nothing of the passage underlined. . . . Now, whatever may be the true meaning of these . . . one thing is clear that by selecting these passages the examiner has practically tested the candidate's knowledge of Urdu more than the latter's capacity to translate it into English. I very seriously doubt if that was the scope of the paper and if the candidates ought reasonably to be plucked in English for want of proper knowledge of classical Urdu. Personally, I have always been of opinion that capacity to translate into a language (a knowledge of which is being tested) is one of the best tests for that purpose, but I doubt if such a test requires complete mastery over the antiquated and out of fashion style of that language also which has to be translated. However, the University authorities and the examiners appointed by them are the best judges in the matter and we laymen can form no sound opinions. Permit me to add that I had there and then expressed my intention of publishing this conversation in the papers and I do so with the express permission of one of them and with the tacit consent of the others concerned.

Yours &c.,
Lajpat Rai

3. This and other Urdu passages not reproduced.
4. A prominent Arya Samajist of Lahore and member of the D.A.V. College Managing Committee.
5. Advocate, Lahore Chief Court; attended, along with Lajpat Rai, Calcutta Congress in 1906; member, Punjab Legislative Council; first Chief Justice of Lahore High Court, retired in 1934.

11. Scholarship for Technical Education in Japan[1]

Sir, Allow me to inform the public that on behalf of the D.A.V. College Managing Committee, Lahore, it has been resolved to found a permanent scholarship in memory of the late Bakshi Jaishi Ram to enable a Punjabi student to proceed to Japan to receive technical training there every second or third year. All contributions towards this Memorial Fund will be gratefully received and acknowledged by the undersigned.

Yours &c.,
Lajpat Rai
Secretary,
D.A.V. College Managing Committee,
Lahore

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 3 November 1900.

12. Bakshi Jaishi Ram Memorial Fund and D.A.V. College[1]

Sir, With reference to the last letter of Mr. Ruchi Ram permit me to enquire if he has the authority of the Board of Governors of the Diamond Jubilee Technical Institute for the proposals contained in his letter, or whether he has made such a proposal to the said Board, and if so with what result.[2] Is it not useless to carry on this discussion without informing the public of what the other Governors think of it and how they are disposed towards it? Is it not a fruitless

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 13 November 1900.
2. In his letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 6 November, Ruchi Ram Sahani, a close associate of Lajpat Rai and a prominent Arya Samajist of Lahore, had written that though he was glad to find that the Arya Samaj wanted to found a scholarship, in memory of Bakshi Jaishi Ram, for the industrial training of Punjabi students in Japan, he thought it would be "more appropriate to have one in connection with the Diamond Jubilee Technical Institute", of which he (Bakshi Jaishi Ram) was one of the founders and also honorary secretary ever since its establishment. He had added: "Besides, what is the good of having a Technical Institute if the Aryas, Brahmos, Sanatanists and others are to have similar institutes exclusively in connection with their own organizations?"

agitation to carry on in case the proposal has already been considered by the Board and negatived by them?

(2) The D.A.V. College has a technical side of its own which dates back from its very foundation and to which the Society is pledged according to its Memorandum of Association. The idea of founding a scholarship of this nature was already under consideration and the deceased himself was a party to that idea. In fact, some months ago Rai Mulraj[3] had sent the proposal in writing and remitted his contribution (Rs. 180) in advance. The Committee had till now hesitated to accept that proposal and give it a practical shape, because of late there had been so many demands on the purse of the Punjabis that it was thought proper to give some resting time before further burdens could be added.

(3) Considering that the Diamond Jubilee Institute has not yet succeeded in realizing the subscriptions promised in its aid, and also considering that just now the Congress makes a heavy and just demand upon the public purse, it would have been impolitic to start another big proposal which was not likely to succeed except in years and which might have hampered the general funds of the Institute.

(4) In consideration of the facts stated in para. 3, it is not expected that the D.A.V. College Managing Committee will succeed in raising a large sum *just now*. Just now Bakshiji's personal friends and others who are not likely to subscribe to the Congress funds (being Government servants, &c.) are the only people expected to subscribe, but the D.A.V. College people mean to make it a part of their anniversary programmes and thus carry it through sooner or later.

(5) Considering that the deceased had the Arya Samaj and the D.A.V. College uppermost in his mind in his last moments and had bequeathed a valuable legacy for the same, it would have been ungrateful on their part to confine his memorial to the proceeds of his legacy only and not to show their appreciation of his noble work by putting an independent proposal in connection with the College which he so dearly loved.

(6) I have no intention of entering into any discussion with Mr. Ruchi Ram and have given you the trouble of publishing this letter as explaining the circumstances under which the Bakshi Jaishi Ram Memorial Fund has been opened and to remove any doubts that may have been created by Mr. Ruchi Ram's letter.

Lastly, the D.A.V. College Managing Committee do not stand in the way

3. (1885-1945); social reformer and founder-member of the D.A.V. College Society and the D.A.V. College Managing Committee; founded Swadeshi Pracharini Sabha and Swadeshi Vastu Pracharak in Punjab in 1893; drafted the Arya Samaj constitution for Swami Dayanand; pleaded for a Congress constitution in 1893; one of the founders of the Punjab National Bank.

of Mr. Ruchi Ram's starting any scheme to commemorate the late *Bakshiji's* memory in any way he or the Governing Body of the Victoria Diamond Jubilee Technical Institute think fit. Certainly they cannot object to the Arya Samaj commemorating the memory of their deceased brother in their own way and in connection with their own institution. Some of them may subscribe to other memorials also if others are found willing to subscribe to the one started by them. If, however, it is desired that the Governing Body of the Jubilee Institute should work in combination with the D.A.V. College Managing Committee, then the proper course is to formulate *a proposal under the authority of the former* rather than start a stray discussion in a newspaper. If I mistake not, the constitution of the Diamond Jubilee Institute forbids its combination for any purpose with any denominational institution, as Lala Ruchi Ram and his friends choose to designate the D.A.V. College. In any case, the D.A.V. College Managing Committee have opened a list and they mean to continue with it.

Yours &c.,
Lajpat Rai

Lahore, Nov. 10

5

EDUCATION

II. Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College

A Historical Glance at Sanskrit Education in the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College[1]

Criticism of the D.A.V. College

I receive such a huge lot of letters from my readers that it becomes well-nigh impossible for me to reply to them individually. I have collated the discussion on religious instruction and the teaching of Sanskrit in the D.A.V. College and schools which is printed in the following pages of the journal. I had made a serious attempt to bring out this issue well ahead of the annual function of the Dayanand College Society so that it should be in the hands of its members in time. But my calligrapher let me down at the last moment on account of which the work remained incomplete. Some space was also left for incorporating some material later on but it has remained, as you would notice, glaringly blank. I crave the readers' forgiveness for it. . . .

The rapid progress of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College induces me to pick up my pen to dispel the wrong impressions that are being aired from time to time among the public about the college. It was my impression that the speed with which the college was progressing would in itself be enough to refute the allegations that are being heaped on the members of the college management. But the detractors of the college, realising that the developments were taking a different form, changed their mode of opposition and instead of talking of principles adopted unseemly means which could seriously undermine the interests of the college. It has, therefore, become necessary for me that, on behalf of the founders and custodians of the college and the public at large and specially the *rishi* whose name is associated with this college, I should state the facts as they are. This would enable the people to form a correct opinion about the whole thing.

All sorts of rumours are afloat about the members of the Managing Committee and the people's minds are being poisoned against them. They are being called selfish, dishonest, mean and petty-minded, so much so that even charges of embezzlement are being levelled against them. All sorts of personal attacks are being made against them and they are being maligned publicly. Therefore, I am placing the facts before the public who are the final judges.

As things are, the time is not yet ripe to make an assessment of the success

1. Here are printed extracts from a tract entitled *Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College Mein Talim Sanskrit Par Ek Mukhtasar Tarikhi Nazar* written by Lajpat Rai in 1893. The Punjab Public Library, Lahore. (Original in Urdu)

or failure of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College. Our movement is still in initial stages but a stigma is being attached to it which amounts to checking the growth of a promising child. It is not merely the question of an educational institution, rather it has much wider implications, as on the progress of the Dayanand College depends the progress and advancement of our society. Instead of denigrating a promising child by making baseless and senseless charges against him his so-called well-wishers should rise above personal considerations and try to defend him from false allegations, promote his interests and help him to rise in life. It has become all the more necessary to do so as a powerful movement is afoot to retard the progress of the college which is still in its nascent stage. . . .

For the sake of clarification I have written a short history of the Dayanand College which I am placing before the readers in order to enable them to form an opinion about Lala Ralla Ram and his writings.[2] It was my intention to publish this issue of the journal in English because most of the writings relating to this subject are in English and so it would have obviated the necessity of translating them in Urdu. But then I thought as most of the people belonging to the Arya Samaj are not conversant with English it should be published in Urdu, which was the only way to flush out the poison that had seeped into the body politic. In the process some errors might have crept in which could not be helped.

History of the D.A.V. College

On 31 October 1883 a calamitous news was received at Lahore through a telegram which shattered the hearts of all Arya Samajes and well-wishers of the country. The whole country plunged into mourning. Next day a meeting was held in the Anarkali Arya Samaj building to condole the untimely death of Swamiji. The courtyard was bursting with crowd, and the eyes of the people were full of tears. Even the walls seemed to be shedding tears. The nation had received a severe shock from which it might take a long time to recover. Condoling the loss many people made heart-rending speeches, giving suggestions regarding the manner in which the great man's memory should be perpetuated. At a meeting held on 6 November the Lahore Arya Samaj passed a resolution declaring that an Anglo-Vedic College should be established in

2. Lala Ralla Ram of Gujranwala had, in his writings, criticized the teaching of Sanskrit, Hindi and English simultaneously in the D.A.V. College, which, he said, was against the third credo of the Arya Samaj, and blamed Lala Lal Chand, President of the Managing Committee of the college, for it.

the name of Swami Dayanand Saraswati. Why an Anglo-Vedic College?, many asked. This was the question baffling the minds of many people at the meeting. Why was a college not opened much earlier?, others asked. They said what had been achieved so far was due to the impetus given to the teaching of Sanskrit by Swamiji's writings and speeches in which he emphasized that the Sanskrit literature was the storehouse of knowledge, that it lacked nothing, and that what was required was labour and a spirit of enquiry to understand its mysteries for the benefit of the masses. Then why despite there being such vast indigenous knowledge should the proposed college be called an Anglo-Vedic College?, they questioned. However, those who were in favour of this proposal, though small in number, realized it full well that the recent enlightenment and the so-called renaissance had come from the West mainly through the English language. They said Swamiji had held similar views. But the scholars of Sanskrit did not agree with this at all as they were unable to appreciate Swamiji's views in this regard. The Sanskrit pandits' opposition to the proposal was most severe. But ultimately taking everything into consideration it seemed appropriate to call the new institution as an Anglo-Vedic College. However, the close associates of Swamiji were familiar with the way in which Swamiji's mind was working for the rejuvenation of the nation. According to them Swamiji was not quite happy with the institutions established at Mathura, Farrukhabad and other places which taught only Sanskrit. Even Swami Virjanand in his lifetime had realized that he had at last found in him a pupil who knew his mind. Those who were conversant with the spirit of the Vedic literature realized that a good grounding in Western learning was equally necessary to widen the mental horizon and so education should be imparted on those lines.

Meanwhile the Multan and Ferozepore Arya Samajes passed resolutions for the establishment of Anglo-Vedic colleges, while the Rawalpindi Arya Samaj passed a resolution on 13 November for the establishment of a Vedic college and also selected a site for the college building. At last, as it transpired, most of the Samajes opted for opening Anglo-Vedic colleges and a committee was set up to raise funds for the same with Lala Lal Chand as its President. Lala Lal Chand was the same gentleman who had been dubbed as a pledge-breaker by Lala Ralla Ram. Lala Lal Chand acted as President till 1893. He worked selflessly in the interest of the country without any feeling of rancour against anybody or without any idea of self-aggrandizement with which Lala Ralla Ram had obliquely charged him. Like others Lala Lal Chand also maintained that English should have an important place in the college curriculum along with Sanskrit. As regards the other charges against him, he refuted all of them and stated that it was wrong to say that he failed to fulfil the promises made by him. However, all charges and counter-charges were made by word of mouth and nothing was available in writing, so not much credence could be attached

to them. Lala Madan Singh, B.A., also worked with full dedication and during the first three years of the college he worked day and night and steered it clear of the stormy weather. These days the membership or secretaryship of the Managing Committee of the college is not a time-consuming job nor is it very troublesome. But those days when stiff opposition was rife it required great courage for a person to become its member and take bold steps to lift the college out of the controversies and run it smoothly.

Today some people ridicule Lala Lal Chand. But if there is any sincerity and honesty left in the members of the Arya Samaj, I am sure they will not deny the importance of the role played by Lala Lal Chand as the captain of the ship and by Lala Madan Singh as his lieutenant. As a proof of this I want to place before the people the draft scheme of education in which Lala Ralla Ram and the people like him tried to pick holes and twisted the facts in a vain attempt to prove that Lala Lal Chand had failed to deliver the goods. Lala Ralla Ram made very critical remarks about the working of the college. I feel sorry for him because his remarks are not convincing. All I want to say is that if a man of Lala Ralla Ram's intelligence had put his talent to some good use it would have done some good to the country.

As regards the system of education, it will not do to lift wholesale the Western system of education and plant it in our country. This remedy will only aggravate the disease. The Western system of education has to be recast to suit the temperament, outlook and spirit of our people and fulfil the political, social and cultural needs of the country.

Today the people are full of patriotic zeal and are pining for progress. They are eager to know about our past culture. In view of this we should make arrangements for the promotion of our own language and culture on a national scale. At the same time, steps should be taken to narrow down the gulf between the educated and the uneducated so that all may be benefited equally. As is well known, we have already a college in Punjab, known as the Oriental College of Lahore, which imparts oriental education. But it is a matter of regret that like all government institutions this college too works in a defective manner. The education imparted by it is highly lopsided. The textbooks taught in it are based on the material relating to the period of the decline of the nation when our learning and culture were declining fast. No notice has been taken in them of the vast storehouse of knowledge and culture based on the learning, religious experiences and philosophical insights of our ancient *rishis*.

The main objects of starting the D.A.V. College are as follows:

(1) Promotion of our national language and through it to bridge the gap between the educated and the uneducated enabling them to communicate with each other freely; (2) to make the study of Sanskrit compulsory and through it

to promote the moral and spiritual development of students; (3) to make satisfactory arrangements for the boarding and lodging of students so that they may cultivate good habits conducive to good living; (4) to make arrangements for higher education in English; and (5) to devise measures, through propaganda and other means, for the economic development of the country.

The college has three sections—(1) the school, (2) the college, and (3) the boarding house. Presently all the three sections are there although the college building is still incomplete.

The school education will be spread over eight years, comprising three stages: Primary—3 years, Middle—3 years, and Entrance examination—2 years.

In the primary stage Hindi will be a compulsory subject. Arithmetic and Geography will also be taught through the medium of Hindi. It is obvious that Hindi has been made compulsory because the primary education of children can be conducted easily and smoothly through Hindi. They cannot be taught so easily through any other language. All the three stages of the school are in operation. As stated, Arithmetic and Geography are taught through the Hindi medium and the duration of the course is 5 years instead of 3. During the last three years preliminary knowledge of Sanskrit and English is given. In the fourth class *Vakya Prabodh* written by Swamiji is taught and in the fifth class *Sandhya*, along with *Vyakaran* (grammar), is taught. In these two classes Hindi is a compulsory subject and Urdu is also introduced.

The school was started in 1886 and from its first report published in 1886-1887, it is clear that the system and standard of education in the primary stage are quite satisfactory. Barring a few minor changes in the English textbook no changes in other subjects have been made. In the light of the new method of teaching introduced by the Education Department, it is under consideration whether some changes should be made in the system of teaching in order to reduce the physical and mental strain on the students.

The scheme of education and boarding house

The following subjects will be taught in the middle stage—Sanskrit, English, Indian history, Geography, Mathematics and Hygiene. Hygiene will be taught through class lectures and English and Sanskrit will be taught through the respective languages. The rest of the subjects except Urdu will be taught in Hindi. With this arrangement the difficulty that is felt in teaching the subjects in the beginning of the middle stage will not arise and the students will be able to follow the subjects well.

The third stage will be spread over to two years and the same subjects which will be taught in the middle stage will be taught in this stage too but the

standard will be certainly higher. The only difference will be that in place of Hygiene, students will be taught Science, Euclid and elementary Algebra, and in place of plain Geography they will be taught Physical Geography. As no specific textbooks have been prescribed for the Punjab University Entrance Examination, emphasis will be laid on the teaching of Sanskrit which will help the students in getting through the Entrance Examination and also make them more proficient in Sanskrit. The books that will be selected for the schools need not necessarily be accepted by their managing committees which will be free to make their own selection.

As regards the college education, it will be of two types—liberal and technical. Liberal education will be spread over to five years. In the first two years only the subjects of Arts, i.e. Sanskrit, English, Mathematics and History will be taught. After passing the first term of Arts, students will be taught advanced Sanskrit and English and one of these three subjects—History, Political Science or any branch of science. The idea behind limiting the number of subjects is to enable the students to pay more attention to the study of Sanskrit and pursue it diligently. The final, that is, the fifth, year will be devoted entirely to the study of Sanskrit which means those students who want to obtain the degree of Master of Arts will have to study Sanskrit.

As regards the boarding house, the idea behind setting it up is to revive the old system of *brahmacharya* with its attendant gains for the formation of good character. A boarding house attached to a college where students live together is the best place for it. It is not necessary to go into details but I would like to mention the main advantages of a boarding house. It helps the students in developing physical health and keeping their minds alert and healthy. It is not necessary to elaborate the first point. A small inexpensive gymnasium equipped with necessary appliances can be set up in the boarding house for physical exercise. In the beginning it will be compulsory for students to do physical exercise every day at a fixed time. Emphasis will be laid on following the principles of hygiene and sanitation as mere knowledge of these is not enough.

The Anglo-Vedic College will be different from other colleges in many respects. It will try to propagate the Hindi language and consider the ways to improve it. It will also teach Urdu to the extent it qualifies a student for government service. Persian, however, will not be taught, and special attention will be paid to the teaching of ancient Sanskrit and adequate facilities will be provided for it. The college, above all, will encourage the students to form good habits such as punctuality, perseverance, sincerity, etc.

The scheme has been drawn and finalized. The aims and objects of the College Society have also been published by the Lahore Arya Samaj and

circulated widely. The late Pandit Guru Datta[3] and Lala Sain Das[4] had played the main role in formulating the scheme for which they worked hard. While framing the rules and regulations of the Society, the differences often arose between Guru Datta and Lala Sain Das on the one hand and Lala Lal Chand and Lala Madan Singh on the other. But they were ultimately resolved. An executive body was also formed consisting of the following representatives of different Arya Samajes:

Lala Lal Chand, M.A., Lala Sain Das and Lala Jiwan Das—Lahore
Pandit Shivvrat Ram—Amritsar
Lala Kanshi Ram—Multan
Lala Jiwan Krishan and Lala Ralla Ram—Gujranwala
Lala Sib Saran Das—Ludhiana, and
Lala Lajpat Rai—Rohtak

After an elaborate discussion, the Rules and Regulations were duly adopted which formed the first Rules and Regulations of the College Society. They should be studied by everybody carefully.

The aims and objects of the Society are:

(1) To establish an Anglo-Vedic University comprising a college, a school and a boarding house in Punjab in the memory of Swami Dayanand Saraswati in order to promote the study of Hindi literature and the allied culture, to promote ancient Sanskrit and propagate the teaching of the Vedas, and to provide incentive for the study of English literature, Western culture and other subjects of practical knowledge including Science.

(2) To teach fine arts so long as it does not interfere with the above objects.

Discussion on religious instruction

At this stage of our discussion a very valid question arises: Is there anything beyond this universe? In this context the following four concepts have to be dealt with.

3. Guru Datta Vidyarthi was a great Vedic scholar, a biography of whom written by Lajpat Rai is printed in this volume in section 7.
4. (1840-1890); a devout Arya Samajist and patriot; President, Lahore Arya Samaj, 1882-90; inspired Lala Hans Raj, Guru Datta Vidyarthi and Lajpat Rai to join Arya Samaj; one of the pioneer leaders of the D.A.V. College movement; President, Arya Pratinidhi Sabha of Punjab, for many years; leader of the College Party in the Arya Samaj conflict.

(1) The existence of God and His attributes,
(2) the rules by which the world is governed (through analogy these rules can be extended to the universe),
(3) those commands or dictates which are obligatory and apply to all, and
(4) the duties which must be performed without exception.

All these concepts have been laid down in the Vedas and Swamiji has given a very able and learned exposition of them. Going by what has been said by the previous speakers it is clear that serious efforts are being made to elaborate these concepts and give them a practical shape. In proof of this contention I would like you to refer to an illuminating speech given by a young graduate on this subject from the Arya Samaj forum about three weeks ago.

Anyway, without digressing from the main subject let me come down to brass tacks. As regards the subjects to be taught in the college, please do not think that we are trying to bypass religion and theology. This is far from our intention. Religion and theology are integral parts of learning. Whether taken up at an earlier or later stage, no learning can be considered real without a knowledge of theology. Theology, in fact, lays down norms for all branches of learning. I agree with my friend who thinks that the religion of the Aryans did not stand in isolation, cut off from the other branches of learning. The people of other countries professing different religions think that religion is a separate subject. But the sages following the Vedic religion thought differently. Even our own scheme upholds this viewpoint which is also reflected in Swamiji's sermons. According to the teachings of the Vedic rishis the spiritual and mundane subjects should not be treated separately. Religion leads one to higher levels in life. But if like the people of other religions you want to call religion a separate subject it is for you to decide about it. What objection can I have to it? I fail to understand what you mean by referring to the professors and lecturers of the Vedic theology and calling the college an institute of learning rather than a temple. I ask what kinds of activities the Arya Samaj performs. Does it not teach the Vedic theology in its weekly sermons? By teaching the Vedic theology in the Dayanand College do you want to make it an Arya Samaj of boys? You give instances of the Christian Missions and colleges. Very true, the Bible is taught in those colleges. If you want you may also do likewise. If the Vedas are beyond the comprehension of boys in the junior classes you can teach them *Satyarth Prakash* and *Veda Bhashya Bhoomika*. However, I have not heard the Mission schools teaching the Bible during school hours. But you want to go one step ahead of them. You want that in the name of Vedic learning the professors and teachers should put their new-fangled ideas into the minds of young boys.

I have heard some respectable people saying that they read in the *Arya*

Patrika that in some schools *Sandhya* and *Satyarth Prakash* are taught to teach the Hindi language. I ask, would any sensible man use *Sandhya* which is a collection of some Vedic *mantras* to teach the Hindi language in primary classes? Please remove the spectacles of prejudice from your eyes. Instead of *Satyarth Prakash* one can with greater advantage use *Tulsi Ramayana* to teach the Hindi language. As regards the Hindi language, *Tulsi Ramayana* is much superior to *Satyarth Prakash*. Hindi was not the mother tongue of Swamiji. Once he himself confessed that he was not quite conversant with Hindi. I fail to understand how in certain quarters it is being said that in some schools *Satyarth Prakash* is being used as a textbook to teach the Hindi language. No doubt, it requires a lot of daring to foist such lies on the people. As you know Sanskrit is a qualifying subject for the examination. In fact, its knowledge is not of much use to an average student. Of course, the study of Sanskrit helps one to read the Vedas and also to sharpen one's perceptions and widen the mental horizon. In order to pass university examinations one is not required to study the Vedas, the *Upanishads* and other religious and philosophical tomes. But I ask, is there no religious content in the books selected by Lala Lal Chand? If they have religious content, is it because of their literary content? Are there no books in Sanskrit which are of lasting interest because of the excellence of their language as well as religious or philosophical content as in the case of the Vedas and *Upanishads* which possess both the qualities. As a matter of fact, there are books in Sanskrit which excel mainly in language. Those who turn a blind eye to these facts and maintain that the Dayanand College is averse to the teaching of religious books are basically in the wrong or are wilfully indulging in a travesty of facts in order to mislead the people. As for the professors and lecturers of theology, you can rest assured that their writings or class lectures will be based on the sermons of Swamiji or the written expositions by him of some aspect or the other of the subject. Thus what can be the difference between these lectures and the written texts culled from Swamiji's writings? The only difference can be because of the lecturer's style of dealing with the subject. While teaching from an original text the teacher is bound to add frills of his own by way of comments or give expression to his own views, which opportunity he is not likely to miss. If the text is not before him and he is speaking from memory he will be all the more free to give vent to his own opinions. Because of these reasons we should avoid introducing this subject in the college. The Arya Samaj meetings are the right places for such discourses.

Some members of the fraternity want that we should also introduce *sandhya* in the college in the same way as the Mission colleges hold prayer sessions. Perhaps these people do not realize that this practice smacks of hypocrisy. There may be many students in these colleges who do not like such prayers but have to make a show of liking them. They pray in the name of Jesus against

their belief in order to retain their place in the college just as others pray for some material gain. We should not resort to such practices in our college, for thereby we shall be fostering in our students the life-long habit of hypocrisy. In our college the working hours are from ten to four. During this period no *sandhya* should be performed. Doing so would amount to transgressing the rules of the college. In the light of my argument people can also object to the performance of *sandhya* in a boarding house. My answer to this is that those who do not believe in *sandhya* should not join the boarding house. The foundation of a child's character is laid in a boarding house of which *sandhya* is an important part. He should learn to perform *sandhya* with fervour which will have a lasting effect on his life. It should form an essential part of his daily routine.

Correspondence on controversy regarding religious instruction

In the end let me reproduce a letter from our well-wisher Lala Balak Ram, Contractor, Tirki, which was received by me yesterday when I was penning down the concluding lines for this journal.

He writes:

Om

Mahashai Lala Lajpat Rai, Secretary, Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, Lahore,

Namaste

Recently I got an opportunity to visit Lahore in connection with my business. In the course of my visit I heard a lot about the Dayanand College and would like to be enlightened on the following points and seek their clarification.

(1) I met you in Lahore recently after peace had been restored in the Arya Samaj. But when I attended the Arya Samaj meeting last Sunday I found that dissensions were still rife. It made me sad to see the actual state of affairs.

(2) I have heard that there are still discussions going on between the committee members, some maintaining that it is a college with a religious denomination while others believing that it is a secular institution serving the people at large.

(3) Some people complain about not making the teaching of religious books such as the Vedas compulsory.

(4) Lala Lal Chand Saheb has publicly announced at the last general

meeting of the Managing Committee that the College will not impart any specific religious instruction. In particular, he said that if the Vedas were taught in the college it was feared that the Government might step in and intervene.

(5) At the time of founding the college it was said that the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College would be founded in the memory of Maharshi Swami Dayanand Saraswati in which the teaching of the Vedas would be compulsory. That was why it was named the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College. The basic idea of founding the college was to save the Aryan children from going wayward by acquainting them with the essence of the Vedas. As we all know, the Vedas were not being taught in any school those days.

(6) I have heard that the performance of daily religious rites such as the *sandhya* is not obligatory.

(7) I also understand that these days some books which are contrary to the teachings of the Arya Samaj are also part of the college curriculum.

(8) I learn that in the B.A. classes of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College *Satya Charg Bhashya*, which has been disapproved by the Arya Samaj, will be taught. Why do they not teach *Dayanand Bhashya* instead? I am told it is considered sacred for the Mission colleges to teach the Bible to their students. May I know—and I will be happy to know—which book of this kind have you decided to teach in the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College?

(9) It was observed from the views of the late Guru Datta, Master Hans Raj, Master Durga Prasad and your own views that your aim was to cast the Aryan youth in the mould of Patanjali and Vyas, which is a highly laudable objective which strengthens the foundations of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College. I hope you are striving whole-heartedly to realize this objective.

(10) At the annual session of the Gujranwala Arya Samaj a text-book committee was formed to assess the merits of those textbooks which are already being taught or which will be taught in future in the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College. Some important members of the Society were also requested to ponder over this matter and forward their opinions to the committee. But Chhajju Singh, the former editor of *Arya Patrika*, instead of extending his cooperation, flew at a tangent and opined that it was not the job of an Arya Samaj committee, and added that it should be made the responsibility of the college committee. May I know your view in the matter?

(11) What is the raison d'etre of the public lectures given in the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College hall? What is the criterion of determining

the subjects of these lectures? I have come to know that even the preachers of the Pracharini Sabha have a say in this matter.

Yours truly,
Balak Ram

This letter dated 24th April was received at Lahore on 5th May. From the signature it appears that it was written at Tirki, but the envelope bears Jullundur postmark. The handwriting on the envelope also does not resemble Lala Balak Ram's handwriting. It is my conjecture that the letter was sent to Jullundur from Tirki and from there it was posted to Lahore. One would like to know the sender's intention in this game. Anyway, this has nothing to do with the contents of the letter and here are my seriatim replies to the questions.

(1) The question is beyond the scope of this journal.

(2) The proceedings of the Managing Committee are self-evident, requiring no comments.

(3) It is palpably wrong.

(4) As far as I know Lala Lal Chand never said so. You have put these words in his mouth. No sensible man would say such things and Lala Lal Chand is a sensible and intelligent man.

(5) It is substantially correct and nobody would go back on it, otherwise it could have been couched in different words, giving a garbled version.

(6) As regards the *Sandhya*, you seem to be misinformed about it.

(7) Please tell me the names of those books. If you are thinking of the *Ramayana*, then I may tell you that we teach only the *Ayodhaya* canto.

(8) We have yet to start the B.A. classes. The subjects of study will include Sanskrit and one more language. Sainacharya's *Bhashya* will be compulsory and along with it Swamiji's *Bhashya* will also be taught. There are also some other books under consideration, details about which will be furnished at the appropriate time. From the above you can form an idea of the Aryan books figuring in the curriculum. Even so, I repeat them for your convenience—*Arya Udesh Ratan Mala, Sandhya, Satyarth Prakash, Manusmriti, Selections from the Veda Bhashya* and *Selections from the Valmiki Ramayana*. These selections are almost ready and will soon be introduced in the college. The scheme for the teaching of such religious books as the Vedas, *Brahmanas*, *Upanishads* and *Darshan* has also been accepted.

(9) You are right. Nobody will question your contention.

(10) You have been misinformed. I was present when this point was discussed. No such committee was ever formed. And as per rules no such committee could be formed. Every Arya Samaj has the right to put forward its

proposals for consideration. As you know, every Arya Samaj has its representative on the Managing Committee of the college who can present his viewpoint. Besides, the members of the executive committees of all the Arya Samajes have to pay four annas each per month as the membership fee.

(11) As far as I can recall no lecture was ever delivered which could be deemed to be against the ethos of the Arya Samaj. Father Eunis gave lectures on temperance and the evils of drinking on behalf of the Temperance Club of which Master Durga Prasad is the Vice-President. There were some lectures on the virtues of *Brahmacharya*.

From what has been said above people can know actual state of affairs. However, I feel that these questions have not been posed by Lala Balak Ram but by somebody else on his behalf. Knowing well that Lala Balak Ram is a well-wisher of the college somebody has tried to malign him by putting these questions in his mouth.

Allegations against the members of the Managing Committee of the D.A.V. College

Lala Ganda Mal, a respectable member of the Arya Samaj of Moth, in a letter to the *Arya Patrika*, has made certain allegations against Lala Lal Chand and threatened to take up the matter with the Arya Samaj. He has also written a letter to Lala Lal Chand in this regard. I don't know why Lala Ganda Mal has turned so much against Lala Lal Chand ignoring the fact that he has rendered a valuable service to the college and the Arya Samaj during the last ten years. It is not Lala Lal Chand's fault if the Arya Samaj has not been able to achieve its objectives. A mere fifteen years of time is too short a period to bring about any transformation in our character. Hence Lala Lal Chand and Lala Hans Raj should have no reason to feel disappointed. Only recently Lala Tola Ram, Librarian of the Arya Samaj and a member of the Managing Committee of the college, has given vent to his feelings in a similar vein in a letter addressed to the *Patrika*. Letters like these do not make much sense to me as their purpose is to wantonly cast aspersions on the Managing Committee and draw a wedge between the members of the Arya Samaj. If this serves their purpose they are welcome to indulge in it. So far as I know the dedicated workers of the Arya Samaj go on working silently unmindful of the false allegations made against them. In 1892, as the issues of *Sat Dharm Pracharak* and *Bharat Sudhar* will bear it out, formal charges were laid against the office-bearers of the Managing Committee, stating that their intentions were good but they had erred in actions. However, the Committee refused to join issue with its detractors in the columns of these papers. At its meeting of 29th November, Lala Munshi Ram, taking

exception to the attitude of its detractors had suggested that whenever members of Arya Samaj were in doubt they should directly approach the Committee for clarification. I need not give instances where in the past such suggestions given by the Managing Committee in its resolutions, were blatantly ignored. This fact can be checked by referring to the old issues of *Bharat Sudhar* and *Sat Dharm Pracharak* and the recent issues of *Arya Patrika*. Only recently an article appeared in the *Arya Patrika* raising objections to the spending of money on building a boarding-house. But no mention was made in it about the improvements made in the boarding-house during the last six months. I do not know what is the idea behind rushing to the press regarding insignificant matters.

From what I have written above one thing is amply clear that there are things which justify the clear decisions taken by the Managing Committee. If in the opinion of the members of the various Arya Samajes some members are not up to the mark or are unable to deliver the goods or have acted in an irresponsible manner or have been dishonest such members should be immediately replaced by new members. On the other hand, if the charges against them turn out to be false, then those who make such charges should be condemned so that our honest workers feel encouraged to discharge their duty with full zeal. People should not get the impression that the Managing Committee is afraid of criticisms. However, those who criticize the Managing Committee not for the sake of running it down but for improving its working should be welcomed. Those who put a spoke in the wheel for nothing should be firmly made to realize their folly. I know many so-called well-wishers of the college are actually doing great harm to it and impeding its progress. In the name of duty they are undermining the very foundations of the college. They miss no opportunity to prejudice the minds of the people against the college. They have no regard for the very college where their own children are studying. They use the press media to write against the college thereby frustrating the efforts of dedicated workers. In short, they spare no efforts to mar the reputation of the college which will not only spell ruin of the college but also shatter the hopes centred round it. The number of those who are denied education is legion. It blights Swamiji's sacred memory which has till now kept the sinking boat afloat. The sponsors of Dayanand College have valiantly fought against all external forces. But what about the internal venom? The public animosity against the teaching of Hindi and Sanskrit has prevented the college from acquiring its full stature. The college has suffered from serious handicaps. With its meagre resources it has vied with big colleges whose teaching staff comprise high-salaried professors. Because of its financial problems good students have preferred to join other colleges. But the college authorities have not lost hope. However, if the internal venom is a cause for concern there are many redeeming factors which like the dew nurturing a plant have kept the college alive. There

are dedicated people serving the college selflessly, a glorious example being Lala Hans Raj who has sacrificed everything and even cut short his own higher education to serve the college. If in spite of such sacrifices and great efforts the college shows a poor result as indicated by the last examination the sooner it is closed down the better.

As it appears, hopes were blighted just when the tree was going to bear fruit. Maybe those who are at the helm of affairs are to blame for it. But the Dayanand College has been built up by your blood and bones. Still there is time to extend your helping hand to save it from extinction and steer it to safety through the stormy weather. Please fight the last ditch battle. It is for you to lend your support to the college and lead it to its final destination. If the college did not wither by the deaths of Lala Sain Das and Pandit Guru Datta, you can certainly weather the storm and steer it out of danger. My good friends, the progress of the college lies in your hands. If the college gets stranded it will be a matter of great shame for all of us.

Before I conclude I have to draw your attention to an important question which requires a prompt solution. Our sense of dedication may be gauged from the fact that whereas on the one hand we are trying to belittle the sacrifices made by Lala Hans Raj for the sake of the college, on the other hand we are lauding Lala Ralla Ram for his opposition to the scheme of teaching of classical Sanskrit and strangely enough, we clandestinely give him credit for its introduction in the college. This two-faced controversy that is presently carried on in the reputed Arya Samaj journals is indeed a matter of shame for us. If members of the Arya Samaj fraternity want to gain credit for themselves by masquerading as martyrs for small inconsequential causes we can do nothing but shed tears at the misfortune of our country and the consequent harm that it causes to it. To berate the superhuman efforts of a man who staked everything and even the creature comforts of self and family for the sake of the college and existed on the resources of a benevolent brother and to call him a "dark cobra" is the height of ignominy and ingratitude. Those who brand him as such were none other than those who threatened to withdraw their support to the college if their wishes were not carried out. Many of them even carried out their threats and went all out to oppose the scheme of teaching of classical Sanskrit in the college. A sentence appearing in the *Sat Dharm Pracharak* that it is not Aryavart (the land of Aryas) but Hindustan aptly indicates the outlook of these people. Some friends even went to the extent of saying that it was Lala Hans Raj's intention to desert the college midstream. I invite these detractors of Lala Hans Raj to visit the office of the Managing Committee and see for themselves how dutifully he has been following the instructions of the Managing Committee. Quite often the Managing Committee has accepted his suggestions without demur and given him credit for them. There were also occasions when

his reports were outright turned down and explanations were demanded from him as if he was a paid employee. Even so, Lala Hans Raj discharged his duties faithfully without expressing any displeasure. The thought of parting from the college never crossed his mind. On the other hand, there were these friends of ours who threatened to withdraw their support on flimsy grounds if things were done against their wishes. Sometimes they felt so peeved that they even stopped giving financial help except the Society's monthly membership fee in order to retain their membership of the Society. Some even went to the extent of asking other members to stop their stipulated quota of food rations to the Samaj. These are not figments of the imagination. I can even tell the names of these people.

These despicable people have not hesitated in taking credit for things actually done by Lala Hans Raj and Lala Lal Chand. For instance, they contend that Lala Lal Chand has tried to give the impression that Lala Ralla Ram's scheme was actually his own scheme and that he has taken undue credit for it. The question arises has Lala Lal Chand ever tried to call it as his own scheme? Nobody comes up with a reply to this. The fact is that the scheme is full of flaws and impractical. Friends, if the scheme is so worthless who would care to take credit for it? Perhaps he wants to prove that the books mentioned in Lala Lal Chand's scheme also figure in Lala Ralla Ram's scheme. This argument holds water as these books are mentioned also in *Satyarth Prakash* and prior to that they were included in other lists of Sanskrit books. Does Lala Ralla Ram mean to say that Lala Lal Chand drew up this scheme at his instance and included in it the books suggested by him? Maybe some people believe what Lala Ralla Ram says. But Lala Lal Chand himself was of the firm view that till a student had mastered *Ashtadhyayi* in school and gained proficiency in Sanskrit the scheme should not be introduced in the college. His contention was that the scheme should not be introduced in the college till a student was competent enough to take up the course of advanced Sanskrit. Twisting the facts Lala Ralla Ram and his friends had said that Lala Lal Chand was not in favour of introducing ancient or classical Sanskrit in the college. In order to shield Lala Lal Chand from such charges I want to make it clear that these rumours are baseless. After this if Lala Ralla Ram had abstained from spreading such rumours he would have won kudos. But he is still persisting in his designs and opposing the scheme with the same vehemence as before. It is a strange rigmarole. Does Lala Ralla Ram have something in writing to testify that prior to the acceptance of this scheme Lala Lal Chand was opposed to the introduction of Sanskrit in the college and tried to scuttle the scheme? However, the fact is that the final scheme, as it was ultimately adopted, was an exact replica of Lala Lal Chand's draft scheme. Now on the basis of experience he has proposed that the different branches of Sanskrit should be taught separately, particularly

the Vedic branch and the *Dharm Sandhi* branch. If this proposal is accepted it will do good to the students. In the first place, *Ayurvedic* studies will open up new avenues of livelihood to the Sanskrit-knowing students. This will to some extent help in diminishing poverty in India. Today huge amounts of money are drained out of the country in purchasing foreign medicines. The *Vedic* education will promote the production of indigenous medicines. As is seen, the *Vaidyas* are gradually disappearing from the towns and villages. To preserve the Unani system of medicine the Muslims of Delhi have launched a movement to popularise it. But there is no such move by us to popularise the Vedic system of medicine.

Along with it, the study of theology, which is Lala Ralla Ram's pet subject, will groom erudite preachers who will not only be having a profound knowledge of Sanskrit but will also know the English language and become acquainted with the English culture too.

Conclusion

Some of our friends give too much importance to public opinion and think that Lala Lal Chand is greatly swayed by public opinion and takes his cue from it. He watches which way the wind blows. If that is so, all praise to Lala Lal Chand who can mould his thinking to suit the exigencies of public opinion! Surely, he has the potential to become a great leader.

To be influenced by public opinion does not mean that one should submit to any blast of wind that blows and put up with any nonsense. A wise man would use his own discretion in deciding what is right and what is wrong without getting baulked by any kind of threats. He must sort out wheat from chaff. This is not the place to dilate on the subject. I shall avail of some other suitable opportunity to go into different aspects of it. Here, I only want to say that if Lala Lal Chand is not cowed down by threats and has the guts to parry false allegations that are made against him in various Samaj meetings, it indicates his indomitable courage. If he had killed his conscience by submitting to false public opinion his friends would have got a good opportunity of launching tirades against him. Like an honest man Lala Lal Chand is ready to accept the opinion of his antagonists provided they cross swords with him like valiant fighters. Filthy language or profane demeanour smacking of vulgarity cannot have any effect on him. In his case one should argue with an open mind. Only then truth can prevail.

5

EDUCATION
III. "A History of India"

Preface to "A History of India"[1]

There is much truth in the saying that for man the best subject of study is man. In this saying the word man does not mean any particular man but man as a being. A man's life is very short. During this short life he can know about very few people by direct contact, but through books, newspapers and travels he can know about a large number of people. As regards the views, opinions and other details about the people of the past, he can know only by reading books of history. This is why the people of Europe and European scholars give much importance to the study of history, and they rightly say that only through history man can best know the effect of the moral law of his Creator which permeates the whole world.

A man having no knowledge of the history of his country and society has got no right to be called educated. It is desirable for every man to be familiar with the history of the religion and customs and moral, social and political development of his community. It is his duty to know what are the reasons of the existing state of things and how those reasons were created as only then he can be successful in improving the existing conditions. Only by knowing the history of his country and community he can know about those attributes which distinguish his society from the people of other countries.

For example, if we look at ourselves we will realize that it is very necessary for us to know the history of our community. We know that we have to deal with the people of other communities. We also find that their nature, customs, way of thinking and many other things are different from ours. Therefore, we naturally try to compare them with ourselves. As a result, we imbibe certain new things and give up some of our old things. This applies to our religion, thoughts and customs. In such circumstances, before we change ourselves it becomes necessary for us to know the history of our existing religion, customs, thoughts, etc., when and how we developed them and how they have influenced us and our community.

I often find our children having very little knowledge about their community. There are two ways of teaching them the history of their community. First, it can be taught through historical accounts and stories which can be made part of the curriculum in primary schools, and second, through textbooks of history. At present the books prescribed for primary schools contain very little of history. And in the history books in general there is very little information

1. Here is printed only the preface to the book, *A History of India*, which deals with the ancient Aryan civilization and was written by Lajpat Rai in Urdu in 1898 for school students and was published at Lahore the same year.

about the Hindu period. The result is that the students receiving modern education know very little about their own community and whatever they know that is also not correct. Several Hindu youths do not know how many Vedas are there and how the modern religions are related to them. Many of our customs today seem to us to be meaningless and we are even ready to discard them. But if we know how they had originated then we may perhaps not discard them or we may try to so change them that they may serve the purpose for which they had been evolved. I am certain that if the people of my community acquire adequate knowledge of the history of their community many of their defects and shortcomings can soon be greatly removed.

There was a time when the people in this country were very fond of reading and writing, so much so that they were considered to be addicted to study. But now a large section of the society does not even know how to read and write.

There was a time when the people of this community always spoke the truth and telling lies, giving false evidence and cheating and deception were looked down upon. Now the time has so changed that most of our government servants consider Indians to be liars. Similarly, our bravery, gallantry, external and internal purity and honesty, all such qualities have been lost, and we have been reduced to our present degrading position. I am sure if our children are given the real and authentic accounts of their community, then on growing up they will try their best to follow the path shown by their ancestors. Besides this, they will also try to shun those evils which have been the cause of their present downfall and which prevent them from imbibing the qualities of their ancestors.

After several centuries, during the present British rule, light has been thrown on the ancient history of Aryans. For this the foremost and greatest work has been done by European scholars. Though many Indian scholars have also been participating in this work since long, British scholars laboured with much greater zeal and perseverance. That period of Indian history which preceded Muslim invasions is still shrouded in darkness. Though during the last one hundred years a great deal of knowledge has been gained about which there is no ambiguity at all, it cannot be said that a systematic, authentic and complete history has been prepared. There are several books in English in which a student can get all the details and if he wants he can pursue further research. He can read these books also for pleasure which have been written by different scholars dealing with the different periods of those times in detail. In this plethora of books, perhaps the best book is the one written by our learned compatriot Shri Romesh Chandra Dutt. This book contains a systematic history of India meant for students and also a bibliography to help in making further studies. The second best books are those written by Lord Elphinstone and Sir William Hunter. All kinds of details are there in these books. But there are very

few books written in the Indian languages, especially in the Urdu language, containing detailed accounts of the conditions prevailing before the Muslim invasions. The history book written in Urdu that is taught in schools deals very briefly with this period. Therefore, there is a great need for books written in Urdu dealing with this part of the Indian history. The books written for the general reader cannot be of much use to students. Schoolchildren are very much short of time. Moreover, their preliminary education does not equip them to follow and appreciate the different views regarding controversial themes. Therefore, such books are needed for them as may be written in simple language and may contain brief authentic accounts, based on researches of reputed scholars. In the following pages I have tried to put together authentic accounts in short and in simple language.

The purpose of writing this book is that every student before leaving the school should know some facts about the past of his community and these facts should be free from exaggeration and based on the writings of impartial, neutral and truth-loving scholars. If by reading this small book students develop an interest to know more about the subject, they can study bigger books, and after learning the English language can do original research work. I think I should write a bigger book in Urdu on this subject giving in detail the different viewpoints so that even those who do not have the time to study the English language may be able to satisfy their interest in history. This small book is the forerunner of that bigger book and most humbly I present it before the people. I do not claim to be an expert in any language nor can I claim to have a good knowledge of history. I am not a scholar of Urdu nor have I learnt Urdu from any expert teacher. Therefore, I am bringing out this book with great hesitation. My sole object is that this small book of mine in which the accounts have been compiled after doing great labour and research may be able to somewhat fulfil the deficiency mentioned by me.

I gladly admit that in writing this book I have relied mostly on the book written by Babu Romesh Chandra Dutt. I also read the books referred to in this book and studied some other books of history also. Still, the knowledge that I got by reading that one single book I did not get it from any other book. Therefore, I am most indebted to that great writer. However, I may mention the other books I have consulted:

1. W.W. Hunter, *Indian Empire*,
2. Mountstuart Elphinstone, *A History of India*,
3. Dunker, *History of India*,
4. Wells, *History of India*,
5. Mrs.Young, *Ancient and Medieval India*,
6. Works of Max Muller,

7. Bale's translation of the accounts of Chinese travellers,
8. Makarandal's translation of the accounts of Greek writers,
9. Zakho's translation of the accounts of Al Beruni,
10. Dr. Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. V,
11. Fraser, *A Literary History of India* (1898),
12. Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*,
13. James Todd, *Annals of Rajasthan*, and
14. Griffith's translation of the *Ramayana*.

Besides these books I have also quoted from many other works, some of which I have read in the original, and some quotations I have reproduced from the writings of the above authors.

In short, I may say that I do not feel the slightest hesitation in confessing that though I have written this book after putting in much labour and research, it does not contain anything new. There is no such view in it as can be said to be mine. My job was only to select, compile and put in proper order the facts culled from different sources. Now it is necessary to say a few words about the order in which the material has been included in different sections of the book.

The first section gives some geographical information about the ancient and modern India. In some cases modern names of ancient places have also been given so that the students may well understand the historical references to them.

The second section contains a brief account of the controversy in regard to the original home of the Aryans.

The rest of the book is divided into three more sections which are as follows:

Section 3: The Vedic Period,
Section 4: The Buddhist Period, and
Section 5: The Epic Period or *Pauranic* Period.

I am sure the teachers of this province will treat this humble work of mine with charity and let me know whatever additions or deletions they consider necessary, keeping in view the requirements of the students, so that I may benefit from their scholarly and helpful comments in preparing the next edition of this book.[2]

2. The second edition of the book, printed in 1922, contained also some reflections on the events of the time.

6
FAMINE RELIEF AND ORPHANAGES

1. Conversion of Hindu Orphans by Missionaries[1]

The *Arya Gazette* (Lahore), of the 17th June 1897, publishes a communication in which Lala Lajpat Rai remarks that it is a matter of shame that no less than 25 lakhs of natives should have embraced Christianity in a conservative country like India, where the main portion of the population would be ready to sacrifice their lives for the sake of their religion. Has anyone ever asked himself how many of these people have renounced the religion of their forefathers through indifference on the part of their countrymen? Lala Lajpat Rai is of opinion that at least one-fourth of this number fell into the hands of the Missionaries as orphans, while the conversion of the remaining three-fourths is due to the refusal of their co-religionists to help them.[2]

1. Reproduced from *Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab*, Vol. X, No. 27, p. 521, National Archives of India (henceforth N.A.I.).
2. During the famine of 1896-97, Lajpat Rai, by organising relief committees and raising funds, was able to rescue about 300 orphans in Rajputana and the Central Provinces besides providing relief to large numbers. In this work he was helped by hundreds of voluntary workers, especially students.

2. Call to Punjab Youths to Take Up Famine Relief Work[1]

The *Arya Gazette* (Lahore), of the 12th August 1897, publishes a communication from Lajpat Rai, Pleader, in which he remarks that Mr. Julian Hawthorn states in the *Christian Herald* of the 16th June that according to official reports 30 lakhs of people have died of famine in India and that no less than 80 millions of natives have suffered from this scourge. The Missionaries, however, estimate the number of the sufferers at 150 millions. This shows that over 50 per cent of the population of India is famine-stricken. These figures fully bear out the remark of Lord Dufferin[2] that the present famine is without a parallel in the history of the human race. The *Christian Herald*, which has already sent over one lakh of dollars for the relief of the famine-stricken in India, also states that some Missionaries take two instead of three or four meals a day in order that they may save something to help the poor. Why should not these Christian

1. Reproduced from *Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab*, Vol. X, No. 37, p. 764, N.A.I.
2. Governor-General of India, 1884-88.

Missionaries who make such sacrifices be rewarded for their labours? The apathy displayed by the Hindus in this matter is a serious reflection on their religion, seeing that only two men have as yet gone from the Punjab to work in the Central Provinces. Will not the youths of the Punjab devote a few months of their life to this good work? Even if they do not like to go abroad, there is a great field before them in their own Province. Let them go about the country and raise subscriptions for the Orphan Fund.

3. Appeal to Hindus for Famine Relief and Help to Orphans[1]

Sir, The famine[2] is raging and the accounts received from famine-stricken parts of the country are simply heart-rending. It is time that the leaders of the Hindu community should be up and taking steps to relieve the sufferings of their orphans and other destitute children because it is the latter who suffer the most in these days of scarcity and it is the class of sufferers who are in large numbers permanently lost to the community in which they were born. I hope my people have not yet forgotten the terrible loss they suffered in this matter in the famine of 96-97. Be it said to their shame that thousands of Hindu boys and girls were lost to them for ever out of sheer negligence and indifference on the part of their co-religionists. At the close of the famine in '98, I showed from facts and figures how much better the Mahomedan orphans fared at the hands of their people and also at the hands of the Government. In 96-97 the Punjab initiated a noble movement for the relief of Hindu orphans and waifs and though their success was limited still they set an example which is worthy of being widely followed by the Hindus of other Provinces. This time unfortunately Punjab itself is in the grip of a dire famine and will have to look up for its own children. Still, I think I am giving expression to the sentiments of a large number of Arya Samajists when I say that over and above organising relief measures for help of their orphans and waifs, Punjab is prepared to extend a helping hand to the suffering children of other Provinces. The Arya Samaj Orphanage at Ferozepore[3]

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 24 October 1899.
2. The famine of 1899-1900, caused by the failure of monsoons during the previous two years, had affected large parts of Punjab, Rajputana, Kathiawar and the Central Provinces.
3. The Hindu Orphanage of Ferozepur, established in 1880, was the first orphanage established by the Arya Samaj. In 1897 Lajpat Rai became its General Secretary.

and the Hindu Orphanages at Lahore and Amritsar[4] are prepared to receive orphans and other destitute Hindu children (male and female) who stand in need of a shelter. It is proposed to depute agents to look for our waifs, &c., in the Province itself and it is also under contemplation to send agents to work in Rajputana, Kathiawar and the Central Provinces. The President of the Hissar Arya Samaj[5] has already opened a poor house where he is prepared to feed and shelter 150 persons for a year. I have his authority to say that, to this extent, Hindu orphans and waifs are welcome to his poor house.

This is the time for Hindus of all shades and opinions to forget their differences and work for the common cause. So long as a child is a Hindu there is every chance of his being converted some time or the other to one or other set of opinion, which distinguish the different schools of Hinduism inter se, but once he gets into the hands of non-Hindus he is lost for ever and the chances of his recovery are reduced to a minimum. It is in this light that I beg to appeal to Hindus of all classes and creeds for help in this cause.

A nation which cannot protect its own orphans and waifs, which cannot feed them and keep them from going begging, which lets them fall into the hands of its antagonists without raising a finger for their rescue, which sits listlessly and allows its orphans to be carried away by outsiders can have no claim to command respect at the hands of other people. In the name of Hinduism and in the name of good sense I beg to appeal to my co-religionists for help in this movement and hope that my appeal will not fall on deaf ears and indifferent minds. Brethren!

Let us be up and doing
With a heart for any fate,
Still achieving, and still pursuing,
Learn to labour and to wait.

Yours &c.,
Lajpat Rai

4. The Hindu Orphanages at Lahore and Amritsar were established by the Arya Samaj in 1897 for the relief of Hindu children left destitute and homeless by the famine.
5. Lala Chandu Lal; an eminent Arya Samajist of Hissar and a close associate of Lajpat Rai; associated with D.A.V. College movement; President of Hissar Arya Samaj and Bhiwani Hindu Orphanage, 1899; d. 1909.

4. Appeal to Give Shelter to Hindu Orphans and Children[1]

Sir, You will be glad to know that the Managing Committee of the Arya Samaj Orphanage at Ferozepore have determined to save as many Hindu orphans as they may be able to secure, and that with that object they have already sent agents to Ajmere, Bikaner and Hissar. In the Central Provinces that veteran old friend of Hindu orphans, Babu Kali Charan Bose,[2] has, in reply to a letter from me, promised to be on the watch and collect as many Hindu children as he can. The following sentence from his letter will show the necessity of immediate steps being taken for the relief of children. He says: "While I am writing this note a boy of my school informs me that there is severe famine in the Chandwara District, not far from Jubbulpore District, and that the missionaries are collecting children." In Kathiawar too, I am carrying on correspondence with an Arya Samaj preacher to be on the alert.

From Ajmere our agent pays a tribute to the generosity of Seth Ram Chand, who, he says, is feeding 5,000 men daily. The rush of Marwaris has subsided as the British Government have instructed the authorities of all Native States in Rajputana to see that those of their subjects who had left their territories for want of food return to their homes, and further immigration into British territories has since then been materially checked. You must remember that the famine has just commenced, and that with the Government starting relief works and other benevolent gentlemen distributing food human lives are not in danger yet. But still the straits to which poor Marwaries have been reduced can be judged by the fact that sales of children have actually taken place in Ajmere itself, the price ranging between Rs. 15 to 40 per head. Our agent is making further enquiries in the matter and I have made up my mind to put these sales to the test of law. On the Civil side these agreements of sale are perfectly void and any Hindu Society or Association can apply for their restoration to them as proper guardians of all Hindu children. On the Criminal side also I think these sales and purchases may be offences punishable by law.

The Ferozepore Committee is prepared to receive any number of Hindu orphans or children deserted by their parents and other guardians. They are prepared to spend the funds already in their hands. They have vast and commodious buildings to locate males and females. They are, besides, determined to exert every nerve to raise more funds and spend every pie on the relief of Hindu children. I, therefore, beg to appeal to Hindus of all shades and opinions to exert themselves in the matter, take possession of all Hindu children

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 2 November 1899.
2. A school teacher of Jabalpur.

who may have been lost, or may have been deserted by their parents, and to send them to Ferozepore where they will be admitted into the Orphanage and properly taken care of. If they cannot take so much trouble let them give us information and we will arrange to have those children brought to Ferozepore at our cost. As I have already said, the famine has just commenced and the distress is not so keen but in a month or so it is most likely to take a terrible turn and it behoves us to be prepared for the worst. I, therefore, beg all Hindus to take such steps as may eventually secure them the guardianship of all Hindu children left orphans or deserted by their parents in the famine. Efforts ought everywhere to be made to put a stop to the sales of children.

As for funds, let every well-to-do Hindu family undertake to feed and shelter one child or to pay him his feeding. The rich Hindus of Rajputana are setting a noble example, of which every Hindu ought to be proud, by subscribing very liberally to the Relief Fund. In fact, I doubt if subscriptions of 50,000 or 70,000 rupees were ever before received from individuals for famine relief; and then this is besides what they do in their own way by feeding a number of people every day. These promises have put a new life in me and I am hopeful now that my people will not neglect their orphans if only the matter is constantly brought to their notice and some organisation set in motion to collect Hindu children and save them from the hands of other people. Oh, that every educated Hindu would be alive to this duty! In the end, I hope the Punjabi Hindus of light and position will at once open lists of subscriptions in their respective stations for the relief of Hindu orphans and other children so that there should be no pecuniary difficulty in the way of collecting orphans &c. It will be a shame if we have to refuse help to any for want of funds. We have full trust in Providence. We hope to refuse none who comes to us for shelter and food. The Hindu Orphanage at Amritsar is prepared to receive a large number of orphans and the Hindu Orphanage of Lahore, if helped with funds, is prepared to receive as many as the funds at their disposal might permit them to do. Besides the Bhandar opened by Lalas Chiranji Lal[3] and Chandu Lal of Hissar (of which I made a mention in my last), the Hissar Arya Samajists are seriously considering a proposal of opening a temporary orphanage for the relief of famine-stricken children. All honour to the gentlemen of Hissar whose noble example is worthy of being followed in every city in the Punjab!

Yours &c.,
Lajpat Rai

3. An eminent Arya Samajist of Hissar who, along with Chandu Lal, the President of Hissar Arya Samaj, established an orphanage at Hissar for the relief of famine-stricken destitute children.

5. Appeal for Funds for Famine Relief in Rajputana[1]

Sir, Every morning we are receiving dreadful news from the famine-stricken parts of this unfortunate country. In last Christmas I had an occasion of going to Hissar and what I actually saw there with my own eyes is beyond the power of my pen to describe. It melted my heart to see so many sights of distress and misery as present themselves to one's view in that part of the country—men, women and children reduced to mere skeletons with no flesh to cover their bones. Oh, the sight was terrible and I could not bear it. People are dying of starvation or, say, of diseases begotten by starvation. The statistics may not show such cases as deaths caused by starvation, but, truly speaking, they can hardly be said to be anything but starvation cases. Want of food and want of clothing is simply making a havoc in that district. The Government and its officers are doing a lot to relieve the sufferings of the poor and the needy, but I do not know if they cannot do more. Perhaps, they cannot. But even if they can that does not relieve us of our own duty in the matter. It is time that Government relief measures in that district be supplemented by private charity. The Arya Samaj of Hissar is doing its duty nobly and the well-known *Khazanchi* family provides food for more than a 100 daily. The blind, the deaf, the decrepit, the old and the young find shelter under their roof and are provided with necessary clothing also. Lala Churamani[2] is rendering valuable service by looking after the destitute and the orphan children in an orphanage he has opened at Bhiwani. The number in this institution receiving relief is already over 70, which now, that the winter rains too have failed, is likely to rise to very high figures. Lala Churamani deserves the help of all good Hindus in this noble work of children's relief. Hissar people have always been helping all public movements in the Province irrespective of their locality. It is, therefore, time that good men in other places should come forward to help the Hissaris in their sad plight. Besides the children's relief work there is another direction in which some exterior help is badly wanted, viz. protection from cold. I do not know how far it is true but when at Hissar I heard a report that the labourers on relief works had been ordered to dig deep holes in earth for protection from cold by covering the mouths of their pits by straw. If this is true I am afraid this is a very hard order. Without claiming to be a medical man I may perhaps be permitted to say that the remedy is perhaps worse than the disease. Strong and healthy men may be able to stand this for a time but how can these half-starved caricatures of humanity (including women and children) who form the majority

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 9 January 1900.
2. Pleader of Hissar; Secretary of Hissar Arya Samaj and Bhiwani Hindu Orphanage.

of these relief-labourers resist those diseases which are caught by the dampness of the earth coupled with insufficiency of food both in quality and quantity? Now that the Government has opened a Famine Relief Fund perhaps a portion of it might be applied in providing clothing to these labourers. So much for Hissar. But if you go further and plunge into Rajputana the scenes there are terrible, heart-rending and awe-inspiring. One of our agents there reports that men and women are dying in open fields with nobody to give them the benefit of the last *sanskar* or to bury them, what to say of weeping over them. Oh, how cruel is this famine! Men are dying for want of food to make food for the vultures and hawks, &c. The countrymen of Partap, Jaswant Singh, Jaimal and others, too numerous to mention, who have once shed lustre on the name of the Rajput, have now of necessity turned into beggars to be rejected from door to door. Reader, just think of a Rajput as a beggar!!! Those who were invincible in war, generous to a fault, in temper fiery, are now begging from door to door for a morsel of food to keep up that body which they have always looked upon with contempt. Yes, these are awfully hard times when Rajputs are putting up with any number of insults because till now we have been given to understand that "Rajput" and "insult" or "Rajput" and "begging" have always been considered to be inconsistent terms. Rajput women and girls, for the preservation of whose honour Rajputs of old devised the plan of *Saka* in cases of extreme danger, are now being taken away in numbers and there is nobody to raise a finger for their protection. A lot are falling into the hands of Christian missionaries and are bartering their religion for a few morsels of food which this famine has made it impossible for them to obtain otherwise. Oh, that the spirit of a Padmini were to ascend into Rajputana and see the sight of her women's distress!

As for children (of both sexes), the less said the better. The British authorities having forced all subjects of Native States to go back to their own places, the authorities of the latter are under the idea that even orphans and destitute children cannot be allowed to leave those States without incurring the displeasure of the Paramount Power. A false idea of honour is shutting the door of all relief to such children as are incapable of taking any livelihood on the relief works. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that local temporary orphanages be opened in the different centres of distress and so far as possible relief should be carried there. This requires a large amount of money which, as at present situated, we are not in a position to spend unless our efforts are appreciated and supported by public help. For this help I appeal to the Hindu Punjabis of all denominations and creeds and hope that my appeal will have response.

To the fathers I appeal in the name of the fatherless, to the mothers I appeal in the name of the motherless, to husbands I appeal in the name of

wives, and to the latter in the name of husbands. The brave and the upright, the stout and the honourable should feel for their brave and more honourable brethren of Rajputana. The rich and the generous should feel for the poor and needy. My Hindu brethren of Punjab, having set a noble example in the famine of 1897-98, are you going to sit indifferent in this year of accumulated misfortunes? The Orphanage at Ferozepore already is full. The number of new admissions is over 100, and this is only the beginning of January. Batches of orphans are being admitted every day. Am I to suppose that our work of orphan relief will have to be curtailed for want of funds and for want of help from you? No, I cannot believe that, as till now you have never failed to help the fatherless and the motherless. Let me hope that you are too good to fail on this occasion.

Yours &c.,
Lajpat Rai
Hon. Secy.,
Arya Samaj Orphanage, Ferozepore

6. A Correction[1]

Sir, With reference to my appeal for famine relief, I have to correct a statement made upon rumour. In that letter I said that the labourers on the famine relief work had been ordered to dig up pits for protection from cold. On enquiry I find that the order referred to or the direction or recommendation alluded to therein, howsoever you might style it, was to the following effect: That the labourers be directed to dig up their sleeping places to about one foot deep and cover the same with thatches (*Sirkis*) over walls of 1 or ½ a yard in height. Still this arrangement does not avoid the necessity of some clothing being supplied to them for protection from cold.

Hoping that public and private charity will do the needful.

Yours &c.,
Lajpat Rai

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 13 January 1900.

7. Protection of Female Labourers and Children from Cold[1]

Sir, Since I wrote my last letter I have been to Hissar once and actually seen two famine relief camps in the Hissar Cattle Farm Reserved Forest. I am bound to say that the general impression was one of satisfaction at the arrangements found there with the exception that there seemed to be only scanty provision for protection from cold. I have instructed the Arya Samaj, Hissar, to supply the most needy of the female labourers with 50 quilts at the expense of the Lahore Arya Samaj through the officer in charge of the camps there. But that is only a very inadequate help. Females and children require special help in this direction which should be given as early as possible.

I found to my satisfaction that the authorities had not insisted on the labourers carrying out the Commissioner's instructions as to the digging of the ground because there was a danger of that order causing great misery in case of a rain.

The number of admissions in the Ferozepore Orphanage in the first ten days of this month exceeds 32.

Yours &c.,
Lajpat Rai

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 17 February 1900.

8. Call to Hindus to Excel Christian Missionaries in Relief Work[1]

Sir, You are aware that in the famine of 1897-98 the Hindus of the Punjab submitted several memorials to the Governments of N.W.P. and Oudh and that of the Central Provinces, praying that all famine-stricken Hindu orphans and waifs be made over to them for being maintained and looked after. You are also perhaps aware that the movement met with but little support from the officials, and although the Hindu Orphans Relief Association[2] was prepared to

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 22 March 1900.
2. The Hindu Orphans Relief Association was formed by the Lahore Arya Samaj in February 1897 for the relief of Hindu orphans and children of the Central Provinces during the famine of 1896-97. Lajpat Rai was the main organizer of the Association.

take charge of very large numbers, they were given only a few, and a very large number was, notwithstanding our repeated applications, made over to the missionaries. Now, although it is exceedingly good of the Christian missionary to take interest in the Hindu orphan, and to help the latter, in these days of starvation, still it must be remembered that the Hindu gets this help at the sacrifice of what is, and ought to be, dearer to him than life itself—his religion. It must be admitted that the charity of the missionary is not altogether *disinterested* charity.[3] It is this charity (distributed in the days of famine) that swells the number of native Christian population in India and justifies the existence and the continuance of the various Christian Missions now working in India. But for the results obtained in these epochs of drought the returns of the different proselytising agencies in India exhibit very meagre figures. So although from the Christian point of view the work of the missionary in these days of famine is nothing but noble, it is from the Hindu point of view an elixir mixed with a deadly poison which permeates through the system of those to whom it is administered and makes them non-Hindus for ever. Practically, it amounts to this: That the Hindu community is so indifferent to its strength that it allows its people to leave its ranks, because in days of scarcity it cannot afford to render them that help which is so readily offered and supplied by the Christian missionary. Well, the resources of the missionary are so varied and vast that it is almost impossible to compete with him, still it cannot be denied that a Government like that of the British in India has a duty of their own in this respect which they must in no case neglect. The Government in this country professes to be neutral and as such it is a unique Government in India. This is deservedly one of the principal reasons of its popularity, and anything which is likely to shake off its popularity in this particular is to be deplored. The masses in this country do not and cannot differentiate between the policy of the Government and the practice of its officers. In the eyes of the people the lowest officials are the Government. No British officer can therefore assume an attitude of partiality towards the missionary without to some extent compromising the august Government which he represents. It is therefore of the utmost importance that the famine administration of the Government should be perfectly above suspicion in this respect. But we know that over and above the vast pecuniary resources of the padre, the latter has many other advantages over his Hindu and Mahomedan brother (working in the same line of charity) in the facilities of access to the official, in securing a hearing from him, in making him accept his statements and in gaining his sympathy. Thus, though, thanks to the active influence of English education and to the awakening of a sense of duty in this respect amongst the Hindus and Mahomedans of India, a large number of Hindu

3. This and other words printed in italics in this letter are italicized in the source.

and Mahomedan orphanages have of late spring up in existence, still the Hindu and Mahomedan worker in the cause of orphan relief, especially the former, does not meet with that amount of success as his missionary colleague does. Perhaps the missionary is a better worker, a firmer character, on the whole, a more self-denying, self-sacrificing agent than the Hindu and Mahomedan, but it cannot be denied that religious sentiments and prejudices of the people, a by no means contemptible force, are on the side of the latter, who, but for official support of the former, can with little activity and organization meet him on his own ground.

There seems to be nothing unreasonable or disloyal or agitator-like in the desire of the educated Hindu, to the effect, that no Hindu orphan or waif be made over to a Christian so long as there is a Hindu agency prepared to take charge of him or her. I would, therefore, earnestly appeal to the Hindus of all provinces to combine and make a joint representation to the Government in this matter. Hindu charity is proverbial and with a little better management it can be diverted, at least to some extent, to this direction. Even a portion of it should be quite enough to supplement the noble efforts of the Government towards the alleviation of the sufferings of the fatherless and the motherless. There are a number of industries in which waifs can be employed and can earn a living, leaving only very little to be done by charity. The Hindus of different industrial and commercial centres should take up the matter in right earnest, organise movements for the relief of the orphans, make representation to the Government and start orphanages or homes wherever necessary or possible.

Will not the Hindu press come to the rescue of the children of their community in this year of trial? Most respectfully do I appeal to the influential organs of public opinion, throughout India, to bestow a little of their attention on this question of all importance to their poor and disorganised community. Will not the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the *Indian Mirror*, the *Bengalee*, the *Indian Nation*, the *Lucknow Advocate*, the *Mahratta* and *The Hindu* and a host of other Hindu papers, conducted in English and vernacular, listen to our humble prayer and wield their powerful pens for the protection of their own kith and kin? Our silence and indifference can only mean ruin and misery to a number of Hindu families who will lose their hopefuls for ever. Perhaps the Hindus think that numbers do not matter at all, and that those who cannot earn for themselves in days of scarcity are not worth caring for.

If that is the conclusion, which the enlightened Hindus have come to, the sooner they discontinue talking of their glorious past, of their admirable philosophy, of their wonderful literature, of their *Shastras* and sciences, the better it will be for all concerned. Where is the good of your taking pride in your past and glibly talking of it, in season and out of season, if you are not prepared to lift a finger to make yourself worthy of your past? Your past need

inspire you with nothing worthy of pride, if it does not appeal to your sense of fellow-feeling and goodwill towards men, women and children of your own blood and religion who are dying of starvation and selling their sons and daughters to others for a loaf or two of bread. Terrible is this famine ! Husbands are selling their wives, and parents their sons and girls!!! "Infants, children, sisters and wives are deserted and even sold," says the correspondent of the *Bombay Gazette* from Gujarat.

Oh, if this small sentence which tells volumes can raise a ray of sympathy in the hearts of those Hindus, who are rolling in wealth, and who can spare lakhs and crores for the sake of name and fame, it will have done a service which no pen can adequately describe. Let me not be misunderstood. By no means, do I mean to discredit the zeal of the Missionary in the work of famine relief, or to detract anything from its value as a work of Christian charity. What I aim at is a contrast between their Christian spirit and the suicidal indifference and lethargy of my own co-religionists, and if in doing so I draw upon the religious sentiments of Hindus and appeal to their self-interest as a community, I do not think I am doing anything wrong or objectionable. If the Christian missionary works in the name of Christianity and humanity I want my own people to be up and doing in the name of Hinduism and fellow-feeling. The work of the missionary is one of charity, while I want my people to understand that for them it is a work of duty and absolute necessity. If they neglect it, they neglect one of the most sacred duties of a Hindu and not only fall from their religion but also lose what ought to be dearest to themselves.

Yours &c.,
Lajpat Rai

9. The Hindu Orphans Relief Movement in Punjab—I[1]

Relief work in Hissar district

Sir, In a series of communications, I intend to give a brief report of the work done up to date by the above movement in the Punjab for the information of your readers, and to appeal to the same for help to enable us to extend our

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 19 April 1900.
The Hindu Orphans Relief Movement was started, on the initiative of Lajpat Rai, by the Lahore Arya Samaj in February 1897.

sphere of usefulness, and to continue in the work of rescue, so opportunely begun. I shall begin with the relief work done in the Hissar district.

A temporary asylum was opened at Bhiwani, District Hissar, on the 10th of November last. After the 7th of April, 349 children were admitted. Of these, 214 were returned to their parents and guardians who had either lost them or deserted them, being unable to give them food, but were afterwards willing to take over their charge. The number actually receiving relief on the 7th of April was 130.

The income of this institution up to the 7th of April was about Rs. 1,554. Over Rs. 1,000 was realised from local subscriptions and the chief item of the remaining was the handsome donation of Rs. 300 made by Rai Sheo Nathji, Executive Engineer. The expenditure for the period amounted to Rs. 1,293-0-6.

In addition to the teaching of Hindi, which has been taught to almost all the inmates ever since the asylum was established in November last, the industry of *dari* and *nawar* making was introduced on the 9th of December 1899. More than 30 boys have made considerable progress in both these branches. *Daris* of various designs and sizes are now being made with ease. The *nawar* made is fine, uniform and durable; and the Manager, Babu Chura Mani, Pleader, Hissar, solicits the favour of the public to send orders for the above articles. A Superintendent is appointed to look after the needs of the orphans and for general management.

The work of the institution has been highly approved of by Government officers. On the 19th of January, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab,[2] while inspecting famine works in the Hissar District, saw the orphans at Bhiwani and was much pleased to see their work. His Honour's attitude was throughout sympathetic and encouraging. The Hon'ble Mr. Fanshawe, Commissioner and Superintendent, Delhi Division, accompanied by many *raises* of the town, paid a visit to the Asylum and recorded the following opinion:

> I visited this institution today with Babu Chura Mani and was very pleased with all I saw and heard about it. The princely idea of the promoter has been carried into effect by aid, pecuniary and personal, of the Bhiwani citizens, and this is the sort of mutual help, which those interested in India would be glad to see in all branches of Indian life.

The Commissioner further asked the *raises* of the town to give every possible help to the institution.

2. Sir W.M. Young.

Dr. Weston, the Civil Surgeon of Hissar, was also gratified to see the Orphanage and considered the general health of the orphans satisfactory.

Much of the work of rescuing the Hindu waifs is due to the noble exertions of Babu Chura Mani, Pleader, Hissar, the worthy Manager of the institution. He has been working almost single-handed from the first and the Bhiwani institution is the result of his labours. But while he has been able to save about 300 or 400 only, a much larger number has been taken away and is being taken away by the Christian missionaries. To one Hindu Agency for the relief of Hindu orphans, there are *four Christian Agencies*[3] at work in the Hissar District. Their names are:

1. Colonel Jacob, Chief Engineer, Public Works Department, who, it is said, has 4 Orphanages at Lahore, Amritsar, Gujranwala and at a place near Hoshiarpur.
2. Mrs. Kamal Chakerburty of Allahabad
3. The Zenana Baptist Mission of Bhiwani
4. Rev. J.C. Lawson, American Methodist Mission, Aligarh

The last named Rev. J.C. Lawson requires special mention for his indefatigable labours. This gentleman was some time back prohibited by the Deputy Commissioner, Hissar, from taking any orphans except those made over to him by the Deputy Commissioner under certain conditions. He has again appeared on the scene. He comes by morning train, goes to Government Poor-Houses and asks the females, especially those with children, to accompany him, promising them good food and dress and every comfort. They very rarely know where he intends to take them to. Some time ago, the guardian of one of the minor children, taken away by him, brought the matter to the notice of the officials and the police had been sent to Aligarh to bring back a married girl who had been taken away. It is for the Deputy Commissioner to see that at least in Government Poor-Houses his orders are strictly obeyed and no children are removed from his district without his permission. We are sure our hands are sufficiently full and we have to devote the whole of our time and energies to find out the means to keep up the work thus begun, otherwise we would have put the matter to the test of law and obtained the verdict of judicial authority on this sort of procedure adopted by Christian missionaries. Somehow the missionaries do not make any distinction between married girls and unmarried ones.

Hindus of Hissar, the work undertaken by Lala Chura Mani is simply noble and has been sealed by the approval of the noble representatives of the

3. These and other words printed in italics in this letter are italicized in the source.

Queen who are combating the famine in your unfortunate district. It is for you to strengthen the hands of the worthy philanthropist who is thus saving your kith and kin from death. Let me hope that the Bhiwani Orphanage will not be closed for want of funds. Every effort should be made to extend it and to maintain it at least up to the end of this dire famine.

Yours &c.,
Lajpat Rai

10. The Hindu Orphans Relief Movement in Punjab—II[1]

The Arya Samaj Orphanage, Ferozepore Cantonment

Sir, This institution is the oldest institution of its kind started by members of the Arya Samaj under directions and according to the desire of the late Maharshi Swami Dayanand Saraswati.[2] It has been in existence for the last 20 years and has been discharging its duty in a manner that has left nothing to be desired.

In 1886 Colonel G.C. Young, Commissioner and Superintendent, Jullundur Division, reported to the Punjab Government that the institution was doing good work and Sir Charles Aitchison communicated in reply that he cordially wished it success.

In the famine of 1897-98 it took charge of all the girls that were brought to Lahore from Jubbulpore, C.P., by the agents of the Hindu Orphans' Relief Association, Lahore. This year it has till now done yeoman's service and of all the Orphanages *in the Province has given relief to the largest number of Hindu orphans*.[3] The following figures will speak for themselves.

On the 31st of October it had 81 orphans on its rolls (49 boys and 32 girls).

Admitted, since, in November, 21; December, 60; January, 47; February, 47; March, 16; April, 60; total of children received up to the end of April 352. Add these in the Amritsar branch not shown in the above figures 52. Grand total 404. Deduct 81, on rolls, on the 31st October 1899; which means that since the 31st of October 1899, 323 new orphans have been admitted into the

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 8 May 1900.
2. (1824-1883); founder of Arya Samaj; social and religious reformer; propounded revival of true Vedic culture; works include *Satyarth Prakash* and commentary on the *Rigveda*. See also *post*, section 9, sub-section 4.
3. These and other words printed in italics in this letter are italicized in the source.

institution, out of which 50 have been transferred to the Hindu Orphanage, Rawalpindi, and 75 to the Hindu Orphanage, Amritsar, and all the remaining receive relief either in the main Asylum at Ferozepore, or in its Branch, newly opened at Amritsar. Besides, 26 orphans were brought to Lahore at the expense of the Ferozepore Orphanage from Ajmere and have found shelter in the Hindu Orphanage, Lahore, and similarly a lot of about 30 have been only lately admitted in the Hindu Orphanage, Amritsar. Thus altogether 379 orphans were brought to the Punjab, at the expense, and by the agents, of the Ferozepore Arya Samaj Orphanage. And our Agents are still hard at work in Ajmere, Rajputana, Udaypore, Gujarat and Central Provinces. Arrangements have been made to carry temporary relief to the very heart of the famine-stricken provinces. Cholera is raging in Rajputana and making a havoc (with no exception) but our Agents, all of whom are honorary, quite young and married, do not want to come back. All honour to these pioneers of orphan relief. May God reward these noble souls for their work of love, and sacrifice!

Gentlemen of the Punjab, the monthly expenses of the Ferozepore Orphanage and its branch at Amritsar just now exceed Rs. 1,000 a month. Do you wish us to consume our capital, and be done once for all?

We hope your generosity will never allow such a strain upon our poor finances. Of one thing we can assure you, viz. that none shall be refused admission and protection, even though we may have to spend our last pie! Yes, struggle, ye noble and devoted Agents of the Ferozepore Orphanage, and find out as many Hindu children as you can that require our help. God will bless your noble efforts and in His bountiful mercy vouchsafe to us means for sheltering, feeding, clothing and maintaining all, whom that mighty Providence be pleased to entrust to our care. Reader, can you conceive what amount of money has been spent in finding out and bringing these orphans to Ferozepore and Amritsar? It is impossible to give you an exact figure just now till all accounts have been made up, but till now more than Rs. 1,800 have passed my hands out of which the last amount of Rs. 400 was remitted to Ajmere only the other day. All the initial expenses of these orphans for clothing, &c., (with the exception of the 26 admitted into the Lahore Orphanage) have been paid by the Ferozepore Committee. *Out of these initial expenses which come to hundreds not a single pie has been met out of the money that is being collected by me or by the Lahore Arya Samaj under the name of "Orphan Fund."* Because the demand for way expenses is so heavy, we have decided to strain all nerves to meet that. The orphans, once brought to the Punjab, are sure to find employment sooner or later. The question of their maintenance is a question of months only, and there will be ample time to find out means to start them in life, or to make permanent arrangements for their maintenance as soon as the famine is over and a little respite gained. In the name and for the benefit of all the Hindu

Orphanages of the Punjab we applied to the Punjab Famine Charitable Committee for a little help but till now our application has met with no success, although a very fair proportion of our wards come from the Punjab itself (Hissar, Rohtak, Karnal, Jhang, Bhatinda, Fazilka, Abohar, &c.). In the name of the Ferozepore Orphanage, we applied to the Punjab Government for the guardianship of all Hindu orphans that may be left on its hands unclaimed and it is a matter of gratification that in this respect, at least, our existence has been recognised, and our claims admitted. In reply to our letter, dated the 12th January 1900, the Revenue and Financial Secretary of the Punjab Government has, with his letter No. 617, dated 24th April 1900, forwarded to us a copy of a Circular letter addressed to the Commissioners of Divisions in the Punjab saying that "*the Ferozepore Orphanage is clearly a deserving institution and capable of maintaining a certain number of orphans.*" And further that "*its claims may be considered when the time comes for making permanent arrangements for the maintenance of orphans*" left unclaimed. In the name of that Bountiful Providence which has to a great extent protected a large number of the central and western districts of the Punjab from scarcity of human food, we beg to appeal to all classes of Hindus for helping the poor motherless and fatherless waifs of their own community because verily "sin do the impious eat who cook for their own sakes" (says Shri Krishna in *Gita*, III, 13).

Yours &c.,
Lajpat Rai

11. The Hindu Orphans Relief Movement in Punjab—III[1]

The Amritsar Hindu Orphanage

Sir, In the famine of 1896-97 the people of Amritsar were also aroused to the necessity and desirability of rescuing some of the Central Provinces Hindu orphans. Accordingly a Relief Association was formed and Pandit Shib Datt Ram[2] was sent to the scene of actual misery to bring the orphans. He got no orphans, as the authorities did not consent to make over orphans to any Hindu body until they were satisfied by the local officials that the latter were in a position to maintain the orphans.

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 10 May 1900.
2. An Arya Samajist of Amritsar; supported, along with Lajpat Rai, the College Party in the internal conflict of the Lahore Arya Samaj in 1892-93; Secretary, Hindu Orphans Relief Association, Amritsar, 1896.

Out of the orphans brought by the agents of the Hindu Orphans Relief Association, Lahore, 30 orphans were made over to the Amritsar people. The late Lala Sunder Das of the Amritsar Arya Samaj was kind enough to give away his spacious *tawela* for the use of the orphans. Lalas Harjas Rai and Ralia Ram got a well dug in the *tawela*. The Recreation Club made a handsome donation of Rs. 185. Lala Sant Ram (late), Bhai Mehtab Singh and Lala Jaikishan Das defrayed all the expenses for one month each. Lala Sant Ram, Dholan Das, Sadh Ram, Sain Das and others gave considerable help in the form of supplying clothes, &c., to the orphans. The clerks of the different offices and shopkeepers also promised to help the institution.

There was a promise of considerable help, but neither was there any hope of public zeal continuing unabated nor the desirability of turning the orphans into so many idlers. It was therefore thought necessary to find some suitable employment for them. The question was solved when Lala Raghunath Das agreed to employ the orphans in his Carpet Factory. Thenceforward, the wages of the orphans have formed the principal item in the income of the institution. Out of Rs. 5,733-5-3 the amount spent from *Kartik* 1955 to *Phalgun* 1956, (1899-1900), no less than Rs. 4,797 came in the form of the wages of the orphans, while subscriptions did not even amount to Rs. 1,000 during this period.

Suitable employment for the orphans having been found, the asylum was enabled to extend its sphere of usefulness and received 75 orphans for employment from the Ferozepore Orphanage (out of which 64 are still on its rolls), 8 from Gorakhpore and 4 from the neighbourhood. About 30 orphans more have just been added from the Rajputana Orphanage brought by the agents of the Ferozepore Orphanage by Lala Ganpat Rai, which make the number about 140.

The institution is under the control of the Hindu Orphans Relief Association, Amritsar, with Lala Dholan Das, Honorary Magistrate, as its President and Pandit Shib Datt Ram as its Secretary.

The number of the inmates having increased, the proprietor of the factory, we learn, has considered it necessary to reduce their wages.

This has presented a great difficulty to the Managing Committee, who, we hear, are very anxious for the deficiency resulting from reduction in wages. The carpet industry at Amritsar is so extensive and at the same time so paying that we have absolutely no anxiety about the future of the Orphanage, only if the Orphanage is allowed to tide over this crisis by a little more liberal help from the generous public. We cannot command sufficient words to thank the services of Pandit Shib Datt Ram, the disinterested and devoted Secretary of this Orphanage, who has chiefly borne the anxiety of keeping up and efficiently managing an institution of this kind. Amritsar should be in a position to find

sufficient charity for a number of such orphanages and it will only be a matter of shame, if its charitably disposed people fail to recognise its claims and allow its managers even one minute of anxiety on financial grounds. Any help from Muffasil at this juncture will enliven the spirit of its managers and lay them under a deep debt of gratitude.

Let it be noted that out of the total number of 140 on its rolls no less than half are children left orphans by the present famine. Miss Alison Garland, the Congress lady lecturer, visited the Orphanage in February last and wrote down the following remarks:

> The boys looked in good health and spirits and seemed in every way well cared for. They gave me a pressly and hearty welcome and I shall not soon forget the sight of them standing "at attention" all round the compound. It seems to me that such Orphanages should be started wherever orphans after a famine are many where the boys are taught a useful trade which will enable them to support themselves in comfort in later life.

Yours &c.,
Lajpat Rai

PS: Since I wrote this, another batch of 45 has arrived and has been admitted into the Ferozepore Orphanage. Another batch of 30 is soon expected from C.P.

Lajpat Rai

12. Appeal for Help to Ferozepore Orphanage[1]

Sir, Will you allow me a little space to inform the public that we are still receiving large numbers of Hindu orphans (both boys and girls) from various parts of the famine-stricken provinces, more than a hundred having come in during the last fortnight. Our resources are being taxed to the utmost, as a large amount of initial expenses has to be incurred for the newcomers, such as in bringing them to the headquarters, and nursing and treating them, since many of them are affected with various diseases as a result of neglect and starvation. Then they have to be trained and put to some industry. The spacious accommodation of the Orphanage buildings is filled to overflowing with the sick and needy, and the authorities have had to engage another house for the superfluous members.

1. Letter to the editor dated 12 September published in *The Tribune* of 13 September 1900.

All this involves an immense outlay of money. Let us hope that the generous public will continue to help the noble institution and enable it to meet the great and increasing demands upon its resources of charity so that at the end of the famine we may be able to report that none were refused admission and all were comfortably provided.

At the close of the famine and on the breaking up of the Government poor-houses we expect a still greater rush on all private asylums, and it would be simply impossible for us to meet this rush except with the generous help of the Hindu public and the co-operation of other Hindu orphanages in and out of the province. The number relieved by us till now, including the relief afforded by the Bhiwani Orphanage, probably exceeds 1500, which is not a small figure considering how scanty are our means, how few the workers, and how poor our resources. However, we have our trust in God and are confident that our trust is not misplaced.

Lajpat Rai

13. Appeal for Warm Clothing for Orphans[1]

Sir, Winter is approaching nearer. Fever is making a havoc. And both these circumstances combined together mean addition to our difficulties to a considerable extent. It is not a joke, you know, to provide warm clothing to the 600 orphans in our charge. At Rs. 5 per head it means a sum of Rs. 3,000 at the least.

In the name of humanity, in the name of nationality, and in the name of charity, we beg to appeal to the Hindu public to help us in this emergency and remove our anxieties. Our hands are already full in thinking out and devising places for the future support of this fatherless and motherless portion of our community and this fresh anxiety, and our efforts seem to be paralysed. With trust in God and His bountiful mercy, we beg to lay our case before the Hindu public and wait for a favourable consideration.[2]

Yours &c.,
Lajpat Rai
Gen. Secy., Arya Samaj Orphanage,
Ferozepore

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 20 October 1900.
2. By the end of 1900, more than 2,000 orphans were given shelter in the various orphanages.

7
GURU DATTA VIDYARTHI

"Life and Work of Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi, M.A."[1]

Om

Preface

It is with great diffidence and with a full consciousness of its many defects, both from literary and biographical points of view, that I venture to lay this book before the public. It was only a deep sense of gratefulness towards the deceased[2] that induced me to make this humble attempt at preparing this short narrative of the life of one of my most intimate, beloved and earliest friends—a friend in the proper sense of the term. Otherwise I have never been presumptuous enough to lose sight of my total unworthiness for the task. Abler and more worthy hands being found unwilling, either from want of leisure or from want of taste, to undertake the writing of this biography, I felt myself justified in doing what I have considered a duty and a labour of love. My only hope lies in the sympathy and generosity of the public, whose judgment I trust will be passed after due consideration of the following facts:

(1) That this is the first attempt of the writer to produce a volume of this size in the English language (short papers on miscellaneous subjects, of course, excepted).

(2) That the native public have not yet properly realized the value of the biographies of their great men and hence the difficulties, which a biographer has to undergo to collect materials for a readable one, are sometimes unsurmountable. I have to regret that the Arya Samaj public have not in this matter proved an exception. Excepting a few gentlemen, whose services I will just acknowledge, none of the other numerous friends and admirers of Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi ever dropped a line.

(3) That the writer is engaged in a profession (legal), in which a moderate

1. Written by Lajpat Rai soon after the death of Guru Datta Vidyarthi in 1890, this book was first published by the Virjanand Press, Lahore, in 1891.

   The book was dedicated to the Arya Samaj; the dedication read: "To the Great and Right Righteous Arya Fraternity as a mark of spiritual love and brotherly affection, which the deceased constantly cherished at heart towards them, and as a free will offering, which his pious Soul, with all its rare and invaluable attainments in learning and science, made in the spring of his well-bred life at the altar of their religious service, is this book respectfully and affectionately dedicated by their servant and brother in religion, the author."
2. Born in 1864, Guru Datta Vidyarthi died, at the age of 26, in 1890.

prosperity, especially in courts of original jurisdiction, leaves no time for the cultivation of a literary taste.

(4) That the writer, living at a distance of nearly 200 miles from Lahore, could not have the advantage of looking into any of the proofs of the book while in the press.

(5) That a knowledge of the apathy of the native public towards the writings of their own countrymen and a few other unimportant matters, which need not be detailed here, have rather deterred the publisher from incurring a liberal expenditure on its printing, &c., &c.

While deeply regretting the silence of those who did not choose to trust the writer with what material they possessed, I take this opportunity of publicly thanking those who helped me in the preparation of this humble work. . . .[3]

My hearty thanks are also due to Professor Max Muller, Mr. Gough and Mr. R.C. Dutt, whose writings I have availed myself of in the preparation of this book. The quotations from the writings of the learned Professor will show that, however unsafe as a guide to the understanding of the Vedic literature he may be, he is not wanting in large-heartedness and in devotion to the study of that mother of all languages—Sanskrit. His recent works contain ample evidence of the wind having begun to blow a different way, and nobody can fail to perceive that the deeper his study goes, the more earnest and enthusiastic he grows in the praise of ancient Indian literature. His translations have been put in contrast with those of Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi with no other motive but that of exhorting my countrymen to take to independent researches in the region of Vedic literature and to look only to the most ancient authorities on the subject of the interpretation of the Vedic terms. . . .

With these words I beg to crave the indulgence of the reader for the many deficiencies and shortcomings which he is sure to find in the following pages.

Hissar
21st June, 1891 Lajpat Rai

3. In this context Lajpat Rai made references to Lala Chetananand, Pleader of Multan, Lala Jai Chand, Chiranjit, Ram Bhaj Dutta and Professor W. Bell of the Government College, Lahore.

Introduction

> "Soil of Ancient India, cradle of humanity, hail ! Hail, venerable and efficient nurse whom centuries of brutal invasions have not yet buried under the dust of oblivion ! Hail, fatherland of faith, of love, of poetry and of science ! May we hail a revival of thy past in our Western future !"
>
> —*M.L. Jacolliot*[4]

The day is not far distant when all classes of Indians, nay, when all classes of men, whether Indians or foreigners, will join in recognizing the impetus given to the study of the classical Sanskrit by the society called the Arya Samaj. Yes, I say the day is drawing nearer and nearer when everybody will cheerfully acknowledge the great move and when the writings of Shri Swami Dayanand will be taken to mark a distinct epoch in the revival of that mother of all languages, the Vedic Sanskrit. To some such a hope may look still very distant or very uncertain and I, for one, do not wish to throw cold water upon their uncertainty. But to those who look unto the horizon, signs of a distinct, clear change are visible. To whatsoever quarter you may look, the antiquity of India is gaining its proper place and the Vedic religion and Vedic sociology seem to become in a very short time the war cry of the learned world. At this very date the flower of the European world is busy in disinterring the remains, the wonders, the gems, the startling discoveries, and the pacifying doctrines of the great "Past". Amidst the giant, wonder-exciting discoveries of the scientific West has the "Present" begun to pay a filial homage to the "Past" of the East. Already has the Eastern Star begun to shed its lustre over the seemingly more resplendent planets of the West. "In France, Germany and Italy (three of the most learned and scientific countries of Europe), even in Denmark, Sweden and Russia," says Prof. Max Muller, "there is a vague charm connected with the name of India. One of the most beautiful poems in the German language is the *Weishet der Brahmanen*, the *Wisdom of the Brahmans*, by Ruckert, to my mind more rich in thought and more perfect in form than even Goethe's *West—O Stticher Devan*. A scholar who studies Sanskrit in Germany is supposed to be initiated in the deep and dark mysteries of ancient wisdom, and a man who has travelled in India, even if he has only discovered Calcutta or Bombay or Madras, is listened to like another Marco Polo." Yes, already has the world begun to re-echo the sentiments, so beautifully and honestly expressed in the

4. Quoted from M.L. Jacolliot, *The Bible in India* (p. 10).

following sentences of the same celebrated author. On page 6 of his volume, *What can India teach us*,[5] he says:

> If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found solutions of some of them which well deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant—I should point to India. And if I were to ask myself from what literature we here in Europe, we who have been nurtured almost exclusively on the thoughts of Greeks and Romans, and of one Semitic race, the Jewish, may draw that corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more universal, in fact, more truly human, *a life, not for this life only, but a transfigured and eternal life*—again I should point to India.

The italics in the quotation are mine. He counts every branch of human learning one by one and shows how vast a field for the improvement of each one can find in India and concludes his enumeration with the following pathetic appeal:

> And take that which, after all, whether we confess or deny it, we care for more in this life than for anything else—nay, which is often far more cared for by those who deny than by those who confess—take that which supports, pervades, and directs all our acts and thoughts and hopes—without which there can be neither village community nor empire, neither custom nor law, neither right nor wrong—take that which, next to language, has most firmly fixed the specific and permanent barrier between man and beast—which alone has made life possible and bearable, and which, as it is the deepest, though often hidden spring of individual life, is also the foundation of all national life—the history of all histories, and yet the mystery of all mysteries—take religion, and where can you study its *true origin*, its natural growth and its inevitable decay better than in India, the name of Brahmanism, the birthplace of Buddhism and the refuge of Zoroastrianism, even now the mother of new superstitions—and why not, in the future *the regenerate child of the purest faith*, if only purified from the dust of nineteen centuries? Yes, Sir, we do sincerely hope that India may still become the regenerate child of the purest faith—the faith of Vedic theology—if only purified from the dust of tens of *centuries*.

In the same strain he continues:

5. The actual title of the book is *India: What Can It Teach Us.*

> You will find yourselves everywhere in India between an immense past and an immense future, with opportunities such as the old world could but seldom, if ever, offer you. Take any of the burning questions of the day—popular education, higher education, *parliamentary representation*, codification of laws, finance, emigration, poor-laws, and whether you have anything to teach and to try, or anything to observe and to learn, INDIA will supply you with a laboratory such as exists nowhere else.[6]

Yes, India can teach what, in the words of the *Upanishad*, "being known all else is known."—*Mundakopanishad*, 1.i.3

My young friends have no reason to be ashamed of their parentage. Prof. Max Muller again steps in to claim the honour of having "the nearest intellectual relatives" in the Aryans of India, whom he gives the praise of being "*the framers of the most wonderful language of Sanskrit. . . .*[7] THE FATHERS OF THE MOST NATURAL OF NATURAL RELIGIONS, the makers of the most transparent of mythologies, THE INVENTORS OF THE MOST SUBTLE PHILOSOPHY, *and the givers of the most* ELABORATE LAWS.

This is the opinion of a gentleman, who, according to his own admission, has not yet drunk deep from the fountain of the Sanskrit literature, of one who is very doubtful whether he has been able to correctly understand the *Upanishads* and who, as will be shown in the following pages, has miserably and very frequently stumbled in his noble path of crossing the fathomless ocean of the Sanskrit literature, of one who has not been able yet to keep the distinction between the *yaugika* and the *laukika* senses of the Vedic terms in view in his translation of the Vedic literature.

A reference to page 85 of the same book shows that when writing the above, he had hardly seen Swami Dayanand's commentary on the Vedas, now so well known by the name of Dayanand's *Veda Bhashya*, because there he makes a mention of Swami's "Introduction to his edition of the *Rig Veda*, his by no means uninteresting *Rig Veda-bhumika*" only.

The greatest literary genius of the modern age has recorded his appreciation of the Hindu dramatic piece in lines which have been often quoted in original and in translation.

> Wouldst thou the life's young blossoms and the fruits of its decline,
> And all by which the soul is pleased, enraptured, feasted and fed,—
> Wouldst thou the earth and heaven itself in one sweet name combine?
> I name thee, O Sakuntala, and all else is said.—*Goethe*

6. The italics and capitals in this and other quotations in the book are as in the source.
7. This and other omissions in quotations are as in the source.

Then look to the testimony of Burnouf, the great genius of France, whose researches into the Sanskrit literature created a deep sensation in Europe.

M. Cox maintains that many of the Greek and Latin deities owe their names to the Sanskrit names of Fire.

Another scholar, Dr. Roth of Germany, argues that there was no caste in the Vedic period.

The most celebrated German writer and philosopher of the modern times, Schopenhauer, gives the following testimony to the worth of the *Upanishads*. "From every sentence deep, original, and sublime thoughts arise and the whole is pervaded by a high and holy and earnest spirit. Indian air surrounds our original thoughts of kindred spirits. . . . IN THE WHOLE WORLD THERE IS NO STUDY, EXCEPT THAT OF THE ORIGINALS, SO BENEFICIAL AND SO ELEVATING AS THAT OF THE OUPNEKHAT. IT HAS BEEN THE SOLACE OF MY LIFE, IT WILL BE THE SOLACE OF MY DEATH."

Dr. Thibaut has established it beyond dispute that geometry and astronomy as sciences were first discovered in India and that grammar and philosophy too were similarly inspired by religion.

Professor Weber remarks that it was in philosophy as well as in grammar that the speculative Hindu mind attained the highest pitch of its marvellous fertility... "the publication of the learned Dr.'s work (i.e. on *Sulva Sutra*) only confirms the conclusion of Von Schrade that Pythagoras learnt not only his theory of transmigration but his mathematics also from India in the sixth century before Christ."

Turn to your philosophy and see what a splendid record it makes. Kapila's has been declared to be "the first recorded system of philosophy."

Says Mr. R.C. Dutt, "The latest German philosophy, the system of Schopenhauer and Von Hartman is a reproduction of the philosophic system of Kapila in its materialistic part, presented in a more elaborated form but on the same fundamental lines. In this respect the human intellect has gone over the same ground it occupied more than 2000 years ago; but on a more important question it has taken a step in retreat.

"Kapila fully recognized the existence of a soul in man, forming indeed his proper nature—the absolute ego of Fichte—distinct from matter and immortal; but our latest philosophy both here and in Germany can see in man only a highly developed physical organization."

Says Cousin, "The history of Indian philosophy is the abridged history of the philosophy of the world."

Says M. Jacolliot, "India is the world's cradle; thence it is that the common mother in sending forth her children even to the utmost West, has in unfading testimony of our origin bequeathed us the legacy of her language, her laws, her morale, her literature and her religion." "Manu," continues he, "inspired

Egyptian, Hebrew, Greek and Roman legislation, and his spirit still permeates the whole economy of our European laws."

He exhorts the writers, savants interested in India to "come and live with the Hindu in his shady home" and take instructions "in the Vedas and the laws of Manu," because he thinks that then only will they "have been initiated and India will appear to them, "the mother of the human race—the cradle of all our traditions."

In another place he remarks that "My complaint against many translators and Orientalists, while admiring their profound knowledge, is that, not having lived in India, they fail in exactness of expression and in comprehension of the symbolic sense of poetic chants, prayers and ceremonies and thus too often fall into material errors, whether of translation or appreciation."

Living in isolated bungalows quite apart from the heart of the Hindu though in India has, experience shows, failed to give the advantage, which the writer of the above sentences expected to be derived from a residence in India.

"The life of several generations," continues the same writer, "would scarce suffice merely to read the works that ancient India has left us on history, morale, poetry, philosophy, religion, different sciences and medicine, gradually each will produce its contribution—for science, too, possesses faith to move mountains, and renders those whom it inspires capable of the greatest sacrifices."

Such in brief is the testimony of foreign authorities on the ancient learning and civilization of old Aryavarta. There was a time in the history of India, when, according to Mr. Colebrook, "it was doubted whether the Vedas were extant; or, if portions of them were still preserved, whether any person, however learned in other respects, might be capable of understanding their obsolete dialect." Contrast it with the present times, when all the four Veda Samhitas can be had for the paltry sum of Rs.10 from the Virjanand Press of Lahore. This is not all. The inexhaustible resources of India produced a man who not only laid a claim to understanding the so-called "obsolete dialect" of the Vedas fairly, but had the courage of undertaking a translation of them in both the Sanskrit as well as the commonly spoken language of India, Hindi *bhasha*. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of Swami Dayanand's *Veda Bhashya*, his veriest enemies have not had the boldness of questioning his scholarship. It was unusually bold of him to depart from the beaten track and prepare a way for himself, notwithstanding the most discouraging opposition of his own countrymen. People may criticize his commentaries as much as they like, but it seems hardly probable that anyone will have the courage of saying that it was a presumption on his part to undertake the translation of the Vedas. His glorious life inspired another man of worth, who so abruptly died in the attempt to tread in his footsteps. It is the short narrative of this young Arya's life that I am going to present to the reader in the following pages. The reader may question,

what connection do the above lengthy quotations bear to the life of this man? The answer is—simply to make a feeble effort at arousing the young men of Aryavarta to a sense of the onerous duties they have towards their progenitors. Yes, to show that many brilliant lives and careers from a worldly point of view are worth being sacrificed at the altar of the revival of the classical Sanskrit. Yes, to exhort the countrymen of Swami Dayanand to spare no pains to discover the vast treasures of their forefathers. To appeal to the successors of Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi to come in the field and show their readiness to devote lives in the cause of the resuscitation of Sanskrit literature. These pages will show that if there are foreigners, who are labouring in this vast field with philanthropic motives, there is a spirit astir which is producing Indians who will give Sanskrit a life-long study from a patriotic point of view. The extract given above should be sufficient to put us to shame, to a sense of degradation which is appalling. But why? Because of our disavowal of our own classical language. Because of our disregard of the mines of learning and sciences so nobly bequeathed to us. Because of our vanity in thinking that the works of Patanjali, Kapila, Kanada, Gautama, &c., &c. are not worth the trouble they require to be properly digested. Because of our want of duty towards those who laboured in the farthest past for us. In the following pages I present to you, gentle reader, a life of incessant toil, a life of labour of love, a life of dutifulness towards our ancestors, a life of high ideal, a life of noble undertakings, a life of simplicity amounting almost to asceticism, and a life of sacrifices at the altar of duty and zeal and solid patriotism.

Let my young countrymen realize the importance of the following sayings (*vakyas*) of the *Upanishad.*

अविद्यायामन्तरे वर्त्तमानाः स्वयं धीराः पण्डितं सन्यमानाः
जघ्न्यमानाः परियन्ति मूढा अन्धेनैव नीयमाना यथान्धाः।।8।।

"Many ignorance-ridden people arrogantly consider themselves to be wise, and, being puffed up with vain knowledge, go about the world as the blind leaders of the blind to the great misery of others"—8th *Mantra* of the same.

"Others again, being ignorant, believe themselves to have attained the object of life. But since the mere performance of works does not lead to the knowledge of God, such people, immersed in worldliness, become miserable and go from bad to worse."

Then and then only can they effectively do their duty in the words of the immortal Gautama:

He shall speak the truth.
He shall conduct himself as becomes an Aryan.

He shall instruct virtuous man.
He shall follow the rules of purification.
He shall take pleasure in the Veda.
He shall never hurt any being, he shall be gentle yet firm,
ever restrain his senses and be liberal. (68-73)[8]
(See also *Taittireya Upanishad* 1, 2.)

If these pages can induce even one of my countrymen to follow in the footsteps of Guru Datta Vidyarthi, my humble labours will be more than amply rewarded.

Brethren!

Let us then be up and doing
With a heart for any fate,
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labour and to wait.

8. Quoted from R.C. Dutt, *History of Ancient India.*

Chapter 1

Ancestry and Designation

"He whose sole presence fills a place,
Whose absence makes a void in halls,
Where thousand throngs the ample space,
That man the gods a Brahman calls"

—*Mahabharata*, XII 89.25[9]

"He only does not live in vain,
Who all the means within his reach
Employs, his wealth, his thought, his speech.
T' advance the well of other men."

—*Bhagwat Puran*, X 22.35[10]

Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi, M.A., was, in fact, the first distinguished literary man that the English rule in the Punjab had produced—worthy of the sturdy, loyal, and fighting race of Punjabis. His life, which he sacrificed at the altar of Dharma (true religion), was worthy of the race to which he belonged. He was a lineal descendant of Raja Jagdish, well known as "Panwar Sadana". Tradition says that this Jagdish Raja had sacrificed his life in some noble enterprise, perhaps the protection of his religion and country from the cruel treatment of some cruel Mohammadan. He and his descendants were thenceforth honoured as "Sirdana" (i.e. who gave head), which the common people transformed into "Sadana." The descendants of the said Raja are up to this date known as *Sadanas*, and thus we find that Pt. G.D. Vidyarthi was, in fact, a Sirdana (a donor of head) by birth. It was from this ancestor that Pt. G.D. Vidyarthi inherited that strength of character which characterised the whole doings and sayings of his short life. It was no wonder, then, that he was totally unconscious of the troubles and sacrifices which he suffered in the fearless propagation of what he considered to be the Truth. It was no wonder that he never preferred personal comfort to the good which he believed he could do by constantly endeavouring to re-establish the reign of religion—true religion—upon earth. The noble forefather sacrificed his head for what he believed to be the true cause, the noble descendant sacrificed the whole self, *sarvaswa*, for what he believed to be the true and the only true cause. Yes, the grandson was worthy of his grandsire.

9 and 10. Quoted from J. Muir, *Metrical Translations from Sanskrit Writers.*

A glance at the family genealogical tree will show that Panditji belonged to an illustrious ancestry. His grandfather and great grandfather were men of great respectability and influence in their own times. His great grandfather, Mahta Girdhari Lal, represented the Nawab of Bahawalpore in the court of Amir-i-Kabul. A descendant of Jagdish Raja, a Sirdana, serving a Moslem *Rais*—a strange irony of fate! Descendants of Mahta Girdhari Lal received great respect at the hands of the well-known just Diwan Sawan Mal of Multan. The Diwan used to address them as friends. Whenever visiting Multan, they were to be fitly escorted by the cavalry of the Government. His father, Lala Ram Kishen, was a Persian scholar and one of those saintly teachers who shed lustre on the Department of Public Instruction in the Punjab when it was in its infancy. Panditji's parents were of middle stature, fair colour and broad forehead. They had a strong, well-built physique, adorned with an equally strong and vigorous intellect. G.D. Vidyarthi's appearance was quite a likeness of theirs, except that his forehead was not so broad as that of his mother. His mother is typical of those Indian women who know how to make a family live a decent life on a comparatively small income, because Panditji's father at the time of his retirement from Government service held only a salary of Rs. 60 a month. She is totally uneducated so far as the education in letters and books is concerned, as most of the Hindu women of the present age are. She has always been fondly attached to all her children, but G.D. Vidyarthi was her idol. Of fortitude she has had a much larger share than most human beings are ordinarily endowed with. A friend of mine, who was a friend of Panditji's as well, writes to me that though a woman, she knows how to bear misfortunes in manly spirit. His father Panditji held in very high esteem, and well did he deserve to be so esteemed. He possessed an immensely keen and grasping memory which was developed to its fullest extent in Panditji. About one year prior to his death, he, at the earnest request of his son, commenced to learn Sanskrit. In the course of about six months he made so much progress that at the end of that period he wrote to his son a letter in Sanskrit, which was almost wholly correct. He, i.e. Panditji's father, was of a quick temper and on this account was by his contemporary officials nicknamed as *Khushki*, i.e. reserve. He also seemed to have had something of that mysticism which his son possessed in great strength and the germ of which appeared to have been obtained by inheritance. His father was born in 1822 A.D. and it was on the 26th of April 1864 A.D. (equivalent to the 6th *Besakh* of *Sambat* 1921) that the only male child of himself and his wife was born.[11] At Panditji's birth, his mother was about 29 years of age, while his father, as alluded to above, was about 42.

11. Guru Datta was born at Multan which is now in the state of Punjab in Pakistan.

Panditji was the youngest of their children and thus confirmed the truth of the proverb: The youngest is the smartest. I may here remark that, according to an American philosopher whom Panditji held in deep veneration, he was very fortunate in the time of his birth. "The most fortunate period in which to be born," says that philosopher, "is anywhere between the mother's thirtieth and forty-fifth and the father's thirty-fifth and fiftieth year." He asserts that "robust and rational children, who possess the best constitutions, physically and spiritually, result from parents considerably advanced in organic development." He has given a long list of names in support of his assertions and I am glad to say that the subject of this biography will be of help in "illustrating the law that demands the maturity of parents at marriage as a condition indispensable to the mental vigour of their offspring."

Notwithstanding that G.D. Vidyarthi's father was a Persian scholar, he seemed to have cherished a belief in the supernal powers of *Yoga*, because we are told that, being sorely distressed in not having a male child up to that advanced age, Panditji's parents appealed to the spiritual teacher, commonly called *Guru*, in the matter and that Panditji's birth was believed to have been the fruit of his prayers. I may be excused for recording the above, because, however superstitious it may look in narrating his life, I must transmit everything that is true, whether pleasant or unpleasant.

It is a custom amongst the Hindus that immediately after birth a name is given to the child which is often afterwards changed to a better and a more tasteful one, and, according to this custom Panditji was, immediately after birth, named Mula. This name is called *janamnam*, i.e. name at birth, and hieroglyphs are prepared in the same name. In his horoscope Panditji is called Mula which by the omission of the last letter becomes *Mul*; this, meaning principal as distinguished from interest, is reality or essence. Thus, though accidentally, the *janamnam* was a fair index to the real character of its possessor. In due course of time was the little baby presented to the spiritual guide of his father, who was pleased to call him *Vairagi*, i.e. ascetic. Every Hindu family has its own *Guru* or *Purohit* and though in ancient times these *Gurus* and *Purohits* used to be men of deep learning and meditation, and thus of immense value to the family to which they were attached, they have, as a matter of rule, in these days degenerated to the status of illiterate loafers or beggars. Even if some of them know to read and write, they know only so much as to repeat by heart the texts or *mantras* enjoined to be used in the performance of ceremonies on occasions of marriage, death, &c. But at first sight Panditji's father's *Guru* seems to have been a man of exceptional power, or he could not so accurately have foretold the religious future of a child of some months. The term *vairagi* ordinarily implies a man who gives up all worldly pursuits and passions and pursues a really ascetic life of meditation and God-worship, i.e. a man who

leaves and sacrifices everything in search of something to which he is strongly attached, and separated from which he thinks he cannot live. Thus it conveys the idea of a man who is deeply in love with the unknowable Head of the Universe, and who cannot bear the idea of ever being without Him. Let me at once say that the degraded and filthy scoundrels, who have usurped this beautiful designation of *vairagi*, do not deserve it at all. In fact, they constitute a very sad commentary on the degeneracy of India.

To give the name of *Vairagi* to a child of some months old was indeed very significant. It may be that the man was a reader of mysteries, or it may be a pure accident. Ordinarily parents do not approve of such names and it must have been in deference to the wishes of their *Guru* that Panditji's parents made no objection to their only and beloved son being called such; whatever may be the explanation, the child was destined to be a real *vairagi*. The child was father of the man.

Once more was the name to be changed and this time with reference to his birth. G.D. Vidyarthi was hardly 12 years of age when his parents took him to Hardwar, where one Goswami Radha Lal gave him a new name. The *Vairagi* of twelve years old was transformed into Guru Datta which means the gift of the *Guru*. Guru Datta is a Sanskrit transliteration of the same. This again can give an estimate of the deep sense of gratitude which Panditji's parents felt towards their *Guru* to whose kindness they ascribed the existence of their beloved child. Afterwards Panditji wrote his name Guru Datta Vidyarthi, which means a suppliant of the knowledge given by God.

Chapter II

Early Education

"Well, well thou hast a careful father child."—*Shakespeare*

'Education makes a man' is a truth which nobody dare deny. A good and sound system of education is of paramount importance not only to the parents, who are desirous of having their sons educated, but to the nation at large, which will be judged by the standard of its education, "since the goodness of a society ultimately depends upon the goodness of its citizens." Those who produce children should be conscious of the amount of good or evil which they can do to the world through their offspring. Those who neglect the proper training of their children are, in fact, the enemies of mankind, and hence their conduct is the most reprehensible of all crimes against humanity. However, our Vairagi's father was a very careful man and well understood the truth of the maxim, "Education begins at home". He seems to have taken some pains with Panditji's early training as will appear from the following account of his early instruction which Panditji himself recited to a friend of his.

Vairagi was hardly 5 years of age when he had learnt his alphabet at home. His father pursued a very good method of teaching, i.e. teaching by inducements and refraining from reprimands. He never indulged in parental wrath, nor did he make any effort to subjugate the tender spirit of the boy to his own. Arithmetic he taught him by our old national method which enabled the boy to multiply large sums of figures by memory and which to a certain extent sharpened the naturally keen memory of the gifted child. His father was so jealous of his son's receiving his lessons in the easiest possible way that he could not allow even the teaching of Primary English to be taken off his hand. In the interest of his son, and, as was worthy of a humane and conscious parent, he at that advanced age (to which we have referred in a previous chapter) commenced to learn English. He read an English elementary book compiled by Col. W.R.M. Holroyd, *How to Speak English*, and then gave lessons in it to his son. At about the age of eight our Vairagi was admitted into the District School at Jhang, where his father was employed. Before entering school, he had read several books in Persian and Urdu, and in school he soon made marked progress. While at Jhang he read the poems of the celebrated sage, Maulana-i-Rum, as well as those of Shummus Tubrez and Diwan-i-Hafiz. All of these he was very fond of throughout his life. At Jhang he remained for some years and left it after having passed the Anglo-Vernacular Middle School Examination of the

Punjab Educational Department in his 19th year, when he joined the Multan High School. Even in these years he gave many distinct evidences of his great powers. One anecdote runs of his having translated an Urdu passage into Persian verses *extempore*, another of his having worked out all the deductions given at the end of Potts' *Euclid*, Book I, in one day. His father was very careful about G.D. Vidyarthi's food. Milk and *pera* (a preparation of milk) were his stock nourishments. Flesh as a food he seemed to have detested from his very childhood, because we are told that once his father reproved him for not having eaten meat. He, however, persistently refused to do so, and his father had to yield. A rigorous discipline so far as food and the company of other boys was concerned is said to have been maintained so long as he was under his father's personal control. This accounts for the total absence of vulgarity both in his expression and speech. His wiry constitution is accounted for by this discipline in his food and constant physical exercise which he always had a liking for.

With a few more details which we, however, unfortunately do not possess, we could have compared our *Vairagi's* father with the revered father of one of the foremost of English thinkers, John Stuart Mill. If all parents would take as much interest (real interest, I mean) in and pains with their children, it would be no wonder if we were to find many G.D. Vidyarthis and J. Stuart Mills around us. Conceive what a happy state it would then be!

At a very early age a book called *Aina-i-Mazhab Hunud* (a mirror of the Hindu religion) fell into G.D. Vidyarthi's hands and he read it with avidity. From this book he adopted the practice of repeating the expression *anhad*, which means without limit,—an expression denoting one of the many attributes of God. It was after he had commenced this practice that he was found doing *pranayam*, (holding breath inside and outside alternately with a contemplation of the attributes of God at the same time—the first step to Yoga), the sacred duty of observing which has been enjoined on all Aryas. Evidently the study of *Masanavi Maulana-i-Rum* and the like had made a more than passing impression upon his tender mind. It was long before his passing the Middle School Examination that he was known to have been doing as stated above. Once on his being found out by his mother in the practice of *pranayam*, she took to remonstrating on the futility of such practices by children, upon which he is said to have remarked something like this, "Look, mother! look towards heaven, at the shining stars and the different forms there; they must have their Maker and I am learning the way to reach Him. You do the same." At this period he was often looking at the heavenly bodies with almost absorbing earnestness.

All this was a fitting beginning of a religious career of no mean order. But the study of English literature had its own effect and led him to doubt the existence of the Maker of those heavenly forms which he used to admire; and

just then the works of Khanaya Lal Alakdhari,[12] the celebrated philosopher of Ludhiana, led him a step farther on the road to atheism. While this scepticism was catching hold of many a noble soul, while this sudden rush of European ideas overturned the balance of many a deeply religious mind, while the Hindus were becoming disgusted with their religion and their forefathers, and while they were preparing to throw their religion and their nationality to the dogs, up rose a Saviour. Yes, while the Hindus, having been wellnigh crushed by their opponents, were thinking of turning atheists or begging salvation at the hands of Christians and Mohammadans, up rose a "fire in the furnace called the Arya Samaj" which, a foreigner says, "started and burned brightly in the bosom of that Inspired Son of God in India, Dayanand Saraswati."[13] The tidings of this fire spread far and wide and Swami's preachings shook Hindu society in the farthest nooks and corners of the Punjab. Young Guru Datta Vidyarthi heard of his doctrines and began to discuss them. He was in this state of mind when he left Jhang and came to Multan, where he joined the High School.

Here he, in addition to his other studies, read elementary science of which he was afterwards to become a master. He was a great favourite with the Headmaster, Babu M.M. Sircar, who helped him with readable books. Here he availed himself of the school library, almost all the books of which he is said to have gone through. He took advantage of another library, which was located in Lange Khan's garden, and read some choice books there. From Master Daya Ram,[14] he got *The Bible in India*, *India in Greece, Isis Unveiled* and many other books of the same kind and went through them.

From his very infancy he had been gifted with an astonishingly tenacious memory and an unlimited capacity for acquiring knowledge. In college life he gave remarkable proofs of this wonderfully good memory and kept his audience spell-bound by repeating a long and totally disconnected list of names by heart, in the same order in which only for once it had been read to him. Once at the request of Dr. Leitner he exhibited this capacity before a distinguished visitor of the Government College at Lahore.

Along with these gifts he possessed "such an innate and invincible desire for study that he could safely pass from one subject to another without the smallest danger of confusing or overwhelming his intellect." The justness of the above remarks can easily be tested by the reader himself when the latter is told that Guru Datta Vidyarthi was hardly eighteen years of age when he knew Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Urdu and English amongst languages all foreign to

12. He was one of those who invited Dayanand Saraswati to visit Punjab.
13. Written by Andrew Jackson Davis in his book, *The Arya Samaj and Its Founder* (Lahore, 1889).
14. Later he became Secretary of the Multan Arya Samaj.

him, his mother tongue being Multani, a Punjabi dialect, besides all other subjects in which a fair proficiency is required of those who appear in the Entrance Examination of the Punjab University, e.g. History of India and England, Geography (general and physical), Mathematics and Elementary Science. Of Persian he was a master, having read *Masanavi Maulana-i-Rum,* &c. In Sanskrit he had once finished *Ashtadhyayi*; of Arabic he had read Saraf Mir and Nahav Mir, &c.; of English he was a scholar, having gone through Shakespeare, Milton, Cowper, &c.; and Urdu of course he knew sufficiently to enable him to pass the Entrance Examination of the Punjab University, standing fifth in the order of merit in the whole province. There is no doubt that he had studied not a few books on Logic, Philosophy, Psychology and Physical Sciences before he joined the college at Lahore. His friend and class-fellow, Lala Chetananand, B.A., writes that Guru Datta Vidyarthi was an atheist when he came to Multan from Jhang, after having passed the Middle School Examination there.

It was when a student of the Multan High School that he commenced reading Sanskrit and the first book of Sanskrit which he read was Ballantyne's *Easy Lessons in Sanskrit Grammar*. After finishing this book, which he always recommended to his friends as the best for beginners, he at once went through the Sanskrit portion of the *Veda Bhashya Bhumika*,[15] solving his difficulties with the aid of dictionaries. After he had done this, he went to the authorities of the local Arya Samaj and asked them in so many words to send for a Pandit, who would teach him the Vedas and telling them at the same time that if they did not do that, he would conclude that the Vedas contained nothing but nonsense and would openly preach the same. The demand was worthy and characteristic of the man. His words were heard and Pandit Akshanand's advent at Multan was the consequence. From Pandit Akshanand he commenced reading *Ashtadhyayi* of Panini. Bhagat Remal Das, his companion in these studies, tells me that the teacher could not prove equal to the pupil and could not satisfy the cravings of so extraordinary a mind as that of the latter and that consequently he had to fall back on his own resources. He is said to have made such remarkable progress as to have finished 1½ *Adhyayas* of the book in 1½ months. It is not known from whom he read the remaining portion of the book, but he had been times out of number heard saying that he had read the *Ashtadhyayi* in the course of nine months. He was once in these days examined by the local Samaj in *Ashtadhyayi*, *Aryaratnamala*, *Veda Bhashya Bhumika* and was awarded a copy of the latter as a prize. While in the school, he is known to have been in the habit of making English and Persian verses, which habit he

15. *Rigvedadibhashyabhumika* written by Dayanand Saraswati.

must have abandoned very soon, because never afterwards do we find him engaged in that pursuit.

But let us return to his religious inclinations. An Arya Samaj had already been established there before G.D. Vidyarthi reached Multan and a small band of workers had begun operations.[16] Lala Chetananand and Remal Das, his companions, were at that time thorough Aryas and G.D. Vidyarthi had discussions with them upon the subject of the Godhead, &c. He read *Satyarth Prakash*, first edition.[17] Thus, with the help of those friends and the study of Sanskrit, truth at last dawned upon him and he not only became a deist but an Arya Samajist. It was on the 20th June 1880 that he filled the application form and became a member of the Arya Samaj of Multan. Blessed was the day when he thus joined the cause of truth, which he never afterwards abandoned, and which he served to the last moment of his life. He is said to have shown during this period some obstinacy in some of his habits which of course everyone else considered strange, for example, his habit of coming home after the close of the school in the hot season not by the direct and shortest route inside the city but by a circuitous way outside the city and without an umbrella. He used to have resort to cricket and athletic sports and often ran in races with other students and came off first. Even as a student he bore a high character for veracity and once in a school quarrel his word and that of his companion, Remal Das, were believed in preference to the testimony of the whole class of students on the other side, and the decision of the headmaster given in accordance therewith. The matter was referred to the Inspector of Schools, who, on being satisfied with the truthful character of the boys upon whose testimony the decision was given, upheld the order.

Even in these days he displayed his passions for yoga and got a name for mysticism. Once a certain Sannyasi came to Multan about whom the people said that he was 120 years of age and looked just the same as 20 years before, when he visited Multan. An eyewitness says that no white hair was observable on his body and that the Mahatma or devotee looked like a youth of 30, notwithstanding that he used to eat only seven morsels of food daily. He had put up in a *dharmashala* outside the city. Guru Datta Vidyarthi's uncle, Lala Kanwalnain, who is reported to have lived with this sage for six long years in the jungle (as if *vairag* was hereditary), took him before the Sannyasi who blessed the young man. Then the following conversation took place between them.

16. The Multan Arya Samaj was established by Dayanand Saraswati on 4 April 1878.
17. The first edition of *Satyarth Prakash* written by Dayanand Saraswati was published by the Star Press of Varanasi in 1875.

G.D. Vidyarthi—Maharaj, what is the best mode of learning yoga—that written in Patanjali's book or any other?

Sannyasi—Patanjali's is the correct method, almost everything else a fable.

G.D. Vidyarthi—Do you know anything of Swami Dayanand?

Sannyasi—Yes, we have been companions in the jungles. Once at a place we used to go to a Pandit who recited *Bhagwat Puran*, upon the contents of which Swami Dayanand used to get enraged, but I used to appease his anger by saying that a Sannyasi should avoid wrath.

G.D. Vidyarthi—Are the germs of all sorts of knowledge to be found in the Vedas?

Sannyasi—Yes.

G.D. Vidyarthi—Even the art of regulating the army and rules of drill, &c.?

Sannyasi—Yes, I know all this and can train any six men, who choose to go with me in the jungle, in the sysem of the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*.

G.D. Vidyarthi—Swamiji, to what places have you been and what places have you seen?

Sannyasi—Almost all the world—Alaska, Baring, &c. Alaska is called Allawartadesha in Sanskrit.

G.D. Vidyarthi—Are you acquainted with the different languages of those places? If so, let me see how you speak the Russian language.

Sannyasi—Yes, but what will be the use of my talking in Russian when you can't understand it? Let it suffice to tell you that this language contains too many consonants.

After some pause he again asked the *faqir* to tell him of some medicine which would sharpen his memory and intellect. The Sannyasi gave him a prescription which corresponded with that given by Swamiji in his *Sanskar Vidhi* and which with other things contains *brahmni, shaukhar, pushi, upasarajsand* and *shatawari*. With this incident we close his school career and transport him to the college at Lahore.

Chapter III

College Life

It was in January 1881 that Guru Datta Vidyarthi joined the Lahore Government College. He passed the Matriculation Examination of the Punjab University College in November of the preceding year and stood fifth in order of merit in

the whole province, the list being headed by his friend and school fellow, Lala Chetananand of Multan (now a B.A. and a licentiate in Law of the Punjab University).

He did not take long to make the most favourable impression on the minds of his professors, and only a few days after his admission, the professors and the students began to realize that they had a being of higher order amongst them. Both the professors and the students felt the touch of a really superior power and it was not long before Guru Datta Vidyarthi became the ideal of what is noble in student life. His independence of spirit, his loftiness of sentiment, his richness of information, the lucidity with which he explained his ideas, and the high oratorical impressions which he left on the minds of his hearers soon made him conspicuous in the large class of students who had the honour of being associated with him in his college life. The author, Lala Hans Raj B.A., (another noble spirit who has devoted himself body and soul to the cause of his country), Diwan Narendra Nath, M.A., Assistant Commissioner, Lala Sheo Nath, C. E., Assistant Engineer, Lala Bhagat Ram, B.A., Munsif, Lala Chetananand, B.A., Pleader, Lala Ruchi Ram, M.A., Assistant Professor of Physical Science, Government College, Lahore, constituted a circle of the earliest companions and associates of the deceased in his college life. In the beginning of his college career he had frequent discussions with his friends, class fellows and others on the existence of God, transmigration of souls, revelations, &c. His mode of discussion was rather curious because, being a member of the Arya Samaj even then, he always established himself on the negative side, and wanted his opponents to adduce proofs of the existence of God and the soul. Their proofs he cut to pieces and thus shook or weakened their belief. This led many people to think, and with some show of reason too, that G.D. Vidyarthi was an atheist. Bradlaugh, John Stuart Mill, Bain and Darwin were his favourite studies. The principle of human conscience being the guide of human actions, he detested from the very beginning of his intellectual existence, and his refutation of the arguments brought forward in support of the principle was very simple but exhaustive. They were much in the fashion of the celebrated moralist Bain.

The following extract from an article on the subject, published in *The Arya* magazine of August 1882, will explain what we have written above. Under the heading *Of Conscience*[18] Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi wrote:

> One of the Samajes that has exerted some considerable influence on the minds of the educated community in our country is the Brahmo Samaj. Those who have been watching the progress of this body, as well as that

18. The article actually appeared under the title "The Nature of Conscience".

of others, are well aware how the ideas of the more enlightened among a community come to be received by the less enlightened as the essential parts of the doctrines of that community. It has been, therefore, well remarked consistently with this principle and with the actual facts of the case that although the creed and doctrines of the Brahmo Samaj, as taught by its founder and by some of its eminent teachers, assign anything but a proper place to the so-called faculty of conscience, there has been a growing tendency among the members and sympathisers of this Samaj in general to give an improper power of jurisdiction over the rules and principles of the society to conscience. This has led, and we believe is still calculated to lead, to errors of practical consequences.

The position of the Brahmo Samaj with regard to conscience has been that of Intuitionists. This school asserts that there is a moral faculty or moral instinct in us which gives us the perception of right and wrong, of good and bad, as the eye gives us the perception of colour. Those that are opposed to this doctrine hold that conscience is not an innate faculty, but that it is really an acquired faculty, a faculty which is in no way different and distinct from other senses, the acquisition being mainly from experience and association. Before we attempt an exposition of the nature of conscience, we would ask leave of our readers to show what practical differences result from these two views. "Now, the difference between the two schools of philosophy—that of intuition and that of experience and association—is not a mere matter of abstract speculation; it is full of practical consequences, and lies at the foundation of all the greatest differences of practical opinion in an age of progress. The practical reformer has continually to demand that changes be made in things which are supported by powerful and widely spread feelings, or to question the apparent necessity or indefeasibility of established facts; and it is often an indispensable part of his argument to show how those powerful feelings had their origin, and how those facts came to seem necessary and indefeasible. There is, therefore, a natural hostility between him and a philosophy which discourages the explanation of feelings and moral facts by circumstances and association, and prefers to treat them as ultimate elements of human nature, a philosophy which is addicted to holding of favourable doctrines as intuitive truths, and deems intuition to be the voice of nature and of God, speaking with authority higher than that of our reason." The above words from the pen of one of the greatest philosophers that the nineteenth century has yet produced, clearly show the unfitness of this doctrine of reformation, and the inadaptability of this view to progress and improvement in general. Although this mode of thought might not yet have induced the indolence and the conservatism indicated in the above

words, it is certain to produce these in future, and we sincerely believe that this tendency has been a chief hindrance to the rational treatment of great social questions, and one of the great stumbling blocks to human improvements. This radical defect in the tendencies of the Brahmo Samaj should not escape the attention of a Brahmo reformer.

Had it been impossible in any case to teach against the dictates of conscience, or were it so that this capacity lay uncorrupted in the general decay and habitual change of our other faculties, our treatment of the question would have been otherwise. But unfortunately, however, such is the refrangibility with which this faculty yields under external influences and other motives, that the question has very often been put, "Should I obey my conscience?" and there have been men who have answered it in the negative.

We cannot be more certain of anything than that it is with perfect sincerity and feeling of reverence and godliness, that an humble Hindu kneels down before his idol, and prays that he should succeed in his efforts; nor are we less confident of the truth of the fact that when the iconoclast Mahmud broke the precious statue of Somnath, it was with no less an air of solemnity and calmness of conscience than when a Brahmo prays before his God for good conscience and upright heart. If these facts are true there can be little doubt that this faculty, if innate at all, is not one of perception, but is only a strengthening element in our feelings, the direction which is given to them being solely established by association or by education.

What is this strengthening element? When a child is reluctant to tell a lie, what is it but the fear of displeasing or the hope of pleasing his parents or his fellow-creatures, that operates in his mind? What is this binding force then, if it be not the fear of displeasing or the hope of pleasing our fellow-creatures, or if it be not the fear of hell or the hope of heaven, the fear of acting against, or the hope of acting according to, the will of God?

In proportion, then, as these external fears or hopes, these antipathies and sympathies act on the mind, in the same proportion is conscience more or less delicate or callous. Its binding force then consists in this, that there is a mass of feelings previously present in the mind, which gives direction to all our actions and it is the resistance which this mass of feelings offers, when we do anything or act contrary to those previously present feelings, which probably comes afterwards in the form of remorse. When these feelings are of sufficient strength, and are regarded with a sanctity, man shrinks from acting against those feelings as an impossibility. This is what is termed the scrupulosity of conscience. If this view of the moral faculty be true, then conscience is not only not an innate faculty but, clogged

as it is with many associations, both false and true, and bent as it can be by education and the operation of external influences, it cannot be a rational ground for the foundation of a sound morality.

Jeremy Bentham was another Englishman who was the guiding star of G.D. Vidyarthi for almost the whole period of his early college life. He was an ardent admirer of Bentham's principle of utility, which he believed to be the true test of determining the righteousness or unrighteousness of men's actions. He was of opinion that Swami Dayanand Saraswati was an expounder of the same doctrine and that utilitarian teachings pervaded the Vedas. Let us once more quote the article already referred to, in the latter portion of which Panditji remarked:

> There is no morality existing apart from the actions that are moral, and moral actions exist no more without the person acting than morality exists without actions that are moral. Is there, then, no standard of morality? Is, then, all morality void and useless? We believe that morality has a foundation deeper than that of the so-called conscience.
>
> This foundation is in the social feelings of mankind. This is the feeling of sympathy, the feeling that is pleasurable or painful, according as we think and see that our fellow-creatures are happy or miserable. We do not discuss the whole theory of morals founded on this feeling of sympathy, but would rather refer the reader to writers from Bentham to John Stuart Mill. Suffice it to say that this feeling of sympathy is the basis of utilitarianism, that theory of morals which calls the actions moral or immoral, according as they conduce to general happiness or not. In the sequel we would beg our readers to compare the position of the Brahmo Samaj with regard to conscience, and hence with regard to morality, with the theory of morality as propounded by the Aryans of the Arya Samaj, and to see whether the one or the other is more conducive to general happiness. Our conviction is that there is no Samaj, which is more patriotic, more beneficial to society and more interested in the progress of society than the Arya Samaj.

The following is an extract from that admirable work, *Gokarunanidhi*, of Swami Dayanand Saraswati for comparison:

> *Flesh-eater*—These arguments apply only to things of a secular nature. But our religion prescribes to us the duty of eating flesh.
> *Vegetarian*—We ask if religious and irreligious be not synonymous with right and wrong in human conduct, you would never be able to prove that

things may be religiously right or wrong as distinct from such in human conduct. Actions that conduce to general happiness are termed right, and those that conduce not to general happiness are termed wrong. If theft and robbery are crimes, they are such because they are painful to others. Leaving out this consideration, there is parity of actions between the robber and the robbed?

The object of the Arya Samaj is to promote general happiness and remove evil and misery from the world. Actions that tend to create disturbances greater than they tend to promote happiness are recognized by the society as immoral. The society attaches due honour and reverence to them who spend their lives in promoting general welfare disinterestedly, &c.

Although the high esteem in which G.D. Vidyarthi held Bentham in the early part of his college career did, to a certain extent, abate in the course of time, he was never known to entertain any but feelings of respect and gratitude towards this—perhaps the best of English moralists. He always believed him to be one of the greatest moralists produced by the world and an author who should be studied by every student of morality, be he an Arya, Mohammadan, Christian or Buddhists. In the later part of his life a deep and more careful study of ancient Aryan literature opened out to him a treasure of moral teachings unsurpassed in the world and the so-called discovery of Bentham lost its splendour before the higher sphere of ancient Aryan morality. John Stuart Mill he considered to be almost a saint. He read almost every work of his, and his autobiography the most. This book he recommended to every friend of his and it is only just to remark that the work contains many a precious gem which brightens the prospects of the thoughtful reader. It is a fact that G.D. Vidyarthi had gone through almost every European philosopher whose books can be had in the English language before he had completed the second year of his college life. Let nobody conclude that in this time he kept himself confined to this branch of human learning. On the contrary, his studies were varied. Scientific books he devoured with the eagerness of a hungry lion, and it was not seldom that I saw him learning the formulas of Arabic grammar by heart, going through Persian books and reading Sanskrit works. According to an esteemed friend of his, who nowadays holds a high position in the Punjab Commission, "He was as good in Mathematics as in Science, as good in Philosophy as in Language." Notwithstanding that he was very irregular in his college lessons, he never was known to have failed in any examination, which shows the command which he had over his subjects. His professors knew this so well that his non-attention to daily lessons did not elicit any rebukes.

Having a special taste for Physical Sciences he was a favourite of Professor

Oman,[19] who loved him with almost parental affections. To pass an examination he had only to read through the textbooks once. I was class fellow of his for full two years from January 1881 up to December 1882, and I can assure the reader that at home I never saw him reading a college lesson or a class book. Still in the Intermediate Examination in Arts of the Punjab University, held in April or May 1883, he came out at the head of the successful candidates and this success of his astonished all who judged him by appearance.

Sometime towards the close of 1881 or the beginning of 1882 he organized "The Free Debating Club" of which he himself was the secretary. All the gentlemen whose names have been mentioned above with the addition of a few more (Pandit Rameshwar Nath Kaul, Lala Sadanand, Pandit Hari Kishen and his twin brother being amongst them) constituted the main body of this club. Its ranks were filled by men of different and adverse religious persuasions. There were Aryas, Brahmos, Hindus and atheists and no subject, whether religious, moral, social or political, was beyond its scope. It lived a short life of two or three years, but nobody can deny that in its own sphere it did immense good to the members and through them to the public. The best thing it did was that it infused a spirit of toleration among its members. Almost all the members of this club, who were young men and in their teens, were inspired with one and the same desire of cultivating their intellects as one of the means of doing good to the fatherland. They were sincere searchers after truth who went to the meetings of the club with their minds open to conviction. If in the afternoon of life, when judgment has been sobered, and passions calmed with experience of the world and its ways, and with near prospect of the day of reckoning, the members of this club will ponder over the deep philosophical questions discussed in its meetings, they will not repent for time spent therein and certainly they will not be ashamed of their youthful researches after truth.

If in 1881 Guru Datta Vidyarthi placed himself on the negative side of discussions about the existence of God and soul, in 1886 he began to array himself on the positive side, and prove both these doctrines from his Aryan standpoint. It was he who first shook the beliefs of his fellow-students, and of all others who came in contact with him, in the existence of the Final Cause; it was he who thus led them to a certain extent upon the path to atheism, and finally it was he who, after thus emptying their minds of the poisonous effects of prevalent beliefs about these main springs of religious faith, gradually, slowly, imperceptibly at first, then convincingly and successfully modelled their opinions about religion and led them to a firm belief in the existence of the Maker of all Makers and the Ruler of all Rulers. Thus was he accustomed to

19. John Campbell Oman was the author of *Indian Life: Religious and Social* (1899), which was reprinted under the title *Cults, Customs and Superstitions of India* in 1908.

establish the supremacy and efficacy of the Aryan notion of Godhead and of Spirit. Reader! mark the transition well from a belief in the Creator of the Brahmos, the Christians and the Mohammadans; from the creation of this world out of nothing he led us towards Eternal Maker, Eternal Soul and the Eternal Matter of the Arya Samaj. It was thus that he made us believe the religion of the Arya Samaj (i.e. the Vedic religion) to be the only true and consistent religion which could stand the test of Science and Reason.

The writer is one of those who was benefited by this wonderful process of conversion and was one of, or perhaps, the earliest convert to the faith of Arya Samaj as expounded and advocated by Guru Datta Vidyarthi. In fact, his was the method of destroying or weakening the existing false beliefs, and transplanting the new and correct doctrine. It was on the 2nd of December 1882 on the anniversary day of the Arya Samaj of Lahore that the writer filed the application form for membership and became enlisted in the cause of truth and faith. That day will ever stand memorable in the life of this humble servant of the public and will ever be remembered with gratitude towards those who worked it out. I had only entered the Samaj Mandir (had not certainly gone with the intention of becoming a member) when I caught the fire, and then it was the magic touch of the hand of that magician of sincerity, now so deeply lamented—Lala Sain Das—that caused the feeble fire to burst into flames. It has since then been growing in strength and I know it, I recognize it, as a dogma of faith that G.D. Vidyarthi and Sain Das brought it about. Lala Sain Das's touch, though of immeasurable influence, would not have availed had not G.D. Vidyarthi paved the way for it.

The reader will excuse this reference to self; the only justification of it lies in the motives. It is simply a just tribute to the memory of the deceased coming from one who feels proud of having been baptised by him to the cause of India's regeneration to be effected by the Arya Samaj.

This day is to be remembered for another reason, i.e. that it revealed the modesty of Guru Datta Vidyarthi's soul. It occurred thus. After Lala Madan Singh's learned lecture "upon the origin of the Arya Samaj and its future" was over, the writer and the Pandit were asked to follow him. We consented to do this, and I was conveyed to the table. I remember the harangue that I hurled over the head of the audience that memorable night and the enthusiastic and repeated cheers that I got in response. Almost every sentence was heartily cheered, and my head began to turn round over the reception thus accorded to me. I have now sufficiently learned the folly of such-like attempts on the part of inexperienced and ill-read junior students, who, being deceived by these receptions of the public, lose their modesty, neglect their studies, and ruin their prospects to the utter disparagement of the movement they have the honour to belong to. It should not be understood that I mean to discourage the young

students from taking part in public movements; what I mean to impress upon the minds of the young and future hopes of my country, is that they should not dare to take a part which would appear beyond their years. Giving lectures to a large assembly of people having numbers of elderly men far superior in knowledge, in years, and in experience to the youthful beardless lecturer, who has not obtained his majority even, who has, in fact, only just entered his college life, is an anomaly worth discouraging, if not for any other reason, for this reason simply, that such boldness roots out the modesty, the reverence for age and experience, which is the chief and most precious characteristic of the Hindu race. Of course, they may well practise oratory and public speaking in the meetings of their clubs and other societies established for the purpose. Or, if ever necessity compels them to speak in a public assembly, they should express themselves in a modest, moderate style, never making dogmatic assertions. They should always show their readiness to acknowledge mistakes and to submit to corrections. Their sentences should be balanced between conviction and scepticism and they should never commit themselves to expressions, which they may have to repent. Young men fill themselves with the enthusiasm of public meetings, and then presume to commence to work for the country before they are fit for it. Thus they injure themselves as well as the cause they espouse. The country does not stand in need of half-educated, ill-read, uncontrollable, vain youths, who demolish the edifice of hope erected in the imagination of their fond parents and leaders in public matters. Well has the divine poet said,

> A little knowledge is a dangerous thing,
> *Drink deep* or taste not the Pierian spring.[20]

India wants substantially educated, deeply read, scientific students like G.D. Vidyarthi. Half-read men cannot raise a nation, cannot form a society, and cannot regenerate the Aryan blood. The existing race of Pandits is a striking illustration of this point. Yes, G.D. Vidyarthi refused to follow my foolish example, because he did not yet think himself to be worthy of the occasion. That shows a vast difference between *a real man* and *a man of show.*

Shortly after this anniversary, Lala Salig Ram, proprietor of the Arya Press, who for some time showed a passing zeal for the Arya Samaj, thought fit to take advantage of our youth and rashness. He proposed that I should undertake to conduct two papers, one in English and the other in Urdu, to be started at his cost in the interests of the Arya Samaj. In due course was the proposal submitted to the consideration of the two future martyrs of the Arya Samaj (Lalas Hans Raj and G.D. Vidyarthi) and Lala Sheo Nath. After a short consultation the

20. Quoted from W.M. Rossetti, *The Poetical Works of Alexander Pope* (p. 14).

proposal was approved and the work of editing distributed amongst the four. The papers were at my suggestion named *The Regenerator of Aryavarta* and *Deshopkarak*.[21] It was understood from the very beginning that my contributions were to come from the station where I was about to go to practise as a *Mukhtar*, and that the real charge of the English paper was to be in the hands of Lala Hans Raj. It was also understood that the profits of the paper, if any, were to go to the Arya Samaj and we were to work without any remuneration whatsoever. Outside a small circle of friends nobody at first knew who were the editors, but subsequently Lalas Hans Raj and Guru Datta Vidyarthi's names became known and in justice to the former I may say at once that it was he who mainly conducted it. It was through the columns of this paper that their independence of spirit was fully revealed to the by no means large circle of the public who knew them.

In the beginning of this year 1883, G.D. Vidyarthi organized a scheme for the establishment of a science school in connection with the Arya Samaj. Mr. Oman's was the guiding hand in this matter. An appeal was published and a subscription list opened. About Rs. . . . were subscribed and G.D. Vidyarthi delivered several lectures in connection therewith.

People, including some of his trusted friends, assert that he was an atheist in these days and the assertion is to a certain extent seemingly corroborated by the following entry in his diary dated 12th January 1883: "Lala . . . writes that we should have to declare that we are atheists." I have given my own impression about his religious views of these days and am still inclined to say that he was never an atheist. There were certainly some hours, or, say, days, in the period under notice, in which he was in a state of perplexity as to the existence of God. There might be some moments in which his balance of mind was more turned towards atheism; but I feel that he soon recoiled from the miserable conception of turning an atheist, without a God in this boundless universe.

The connection with the *Regenerator of Aryavarta* was broken on account of the refusal of its proprietor to give away the profits of the enterprise to the Arya Samaj. The joint editors' sacrifice can be judged by their refusal to take their own copies gratis while they themselves conducted it. They insisted upon paying subscription for their own copies. In the end Lala Salig Ram wished to close with an offer of a monthly salary which was flatly declined on the basis that the work was undertaken with no pecuniary motive but simply in the interests of the Arya Samaj.

It was in the beginning of 1883 that G. D. Vidyarthi passed the Intermediate Examination in Arts of the Punjab University and headed the list of successful

21. The publication of these journals started in January 1883; *The Regenerator of Aryavarta* was published in English and *Deshopkarak* in Urdu.

students. This success was a miracle because he was never known to be regular in his college studies. In almost all the ordinary examinations of the class he only obtained barely passable marks and the cramming section of the class obtained high positions. But when the hour of trial came, his tenacious memory and his transparent intellect bore him up. He hated cramming and loved intellectual exercises, be they in any branch of human learning, mathematics, philosophy, science or literature. Though very jealous of his careless and irregular habits in preparing his college lessons, his professors never lost confidence in him.

To speak of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, Pandit G.D. Vidyarthi's connection with the movement dates from its very conception. In October 1883, when the news of Swami Dayanand Saraswati's fatal illness spread over the country like wildfire, the Executive Committee of the Lahore Arya Samaj deputed him and Lala Jiwan Dasji, the then Vice-President of that Samaj, to attend on Swamiji during his illness. At this time G. D. Vidyarthi was reading in the third year class of the Government College, Lahore, and was hardly 20 years of age. The mere fact of his being deputed for so important and delicate a task, irrespective of how he performed it, shows the deep confidence which the Vice-President of the Lahore Arya Samaj[22] had in him; it gives only some idea of the strong hold he had begun to have on the counsels of the very careful and prudent members of that body. It is a common belief in the world of the Arya Samaj that the Lahore Aryas, as a body, are very slow in doing honours and bestowing praise (and I for myself do not know why they should not be) but in the case of Pandit G.D. Vidyarthi, they had from the very first conceived a fancy for his talents, and showed a comparative generosity of temper in giving his genius a high place in their hearts and counsels. The devotion with which he served the Reformer in the last moments of his earthly sojourn, the more than filial love and care with which he attended his death-bed, elicited admiration and respect from everyone who beheld him in his post or who heard the account subsequently.

Yes, it was the spectacle of this dying Greatness with its firm belief in the first and final cause of the world, with *Gayatri Mantra* on its lips, that went to the core of the already deeply affected tender heart of young G.D. Vidyarthi. It was here that he perceived the grandness and sublimity of *devotion*; it was here that he had a glance of the *peace of mind* (*Shanti*) with which a *devotee*—a humble servant of the Omnipotent and His universe—leaves this existence of flesh and bone to rise and fly to higher regions, where dwell only those spirits that have, unmoved by disasters and storms, unaffected by pains and penalties, fought the battle of *truth* and *duty* with glory to themselves and their Maker.

22. Lala Sain Das.

Never since then has G.D. Vidyarthi been known to have wavered in his belief in God and His Vedas, never since then has he been subjected to the awe-inspiring unearthy visits of the Ghost of *Doubt.* And never since then has he been heard to utter a word of scepticism. This was a grand event in his life, which turned the scale and which stamped almost all his subsequent sayings, writings and doings. The news of Swami's death was a signal, which showed the necessity of vigorous energy and incessant toil being brought to the work of reform so timely undertaken by the Arya Samajes in the Punjab. The desire of founding an institution, which, in addition to fully commemorating the sacred memory of the great Reformer, might impart an impetus to an intelligent study of the classical Sanskrit literature and of the Vedas, found an echo in the hearts of almost all the Arya Samajists. This desire, though already having found an expression in the form of resolutions and offers of sums in its aid, did not take any definite shape until Pandit G.D. Vidyarthi and Lala Jiwan Das had returned from Ajmere. In a public meeting of the inhabitants of Lahore convened on the 8th of November 1883, in the premises of the Lahore Arya Samaj, the proposal was for the first time formally put before the public and approved of by the latter. Pandit G.D. Vidyarthi was one of the speakers and he narrated how Swamiji bravely passed the last days of his life and how manfully he bore the illness with which he remained prostrated for more than a month. An account of this meeting was published in the *Regenerator of Aryavarta* from which we make the following extract.

> But the scene which presented itself in the subsequent public meeting held on the 9th November (1883) was of an entirely different character. On this occasion the spirit of grief had given place to that of gratefulness, and the touch of enthusiasm seemed to reverberate through every nerve and heart. There was one united purpose that the glorious life of the departed Swami should be immortalised in this nether world, and the proposal to found an Anglo-Vedic College in honour of his memory was unanimously and enthusiastically adopted. The sight that followed was worth observing. Though the meeting was composed mostly of middle class men, from 7,000 to 8,000 rupees were subscribed on the spot. Women and children and even poor menials zealously came forward with their mite.

Amongst those who responded to the first call to subscription in aid of the D.A.V. College was Guru Datta Vidyarthi with Rs. 25 (one month's whole scholarship) put down against his name. After this, which was, to the best of my information, the first opportunity of any importance on which Guru Datta Vidyarthi addressed such a vast assembly of people, never did he flinch in his

duty. Sometimes we found him closeted with the then energetic secretary of the Lahore Arya Samaj busy in drafting the appeal, circulated in the aid of the D.A.V. College movement, and at other times we saw him accompanying the begging expeditions for the same.

Anniversaries of the Arya Samajes were his favourite resort, where he enjoyed his holidays with the greatest possible advantage to himself and to his brother Samajists. On the occasion of the 7th anniversary of the Lahore Arya Samaj he addressed the assembly in English; and the Arya magazine of January 1885, in publishing an account of the proceedings of that anniversary, remarked that "his lecture though abounding in metaphors, in rather difficult words, was of a very useful character and was received with great applause." These years were, in fact, the years of agitation and construction. Vast study, mingled with imaginative and reasoning powers of no ordinary type, prepared the man, and with the close of the year, we find the following short note in his diary: "What is devotion? How far can this reform our country? What cares the devotee for the world, if India becomes a country of devotees?" Yes, devotion real, unselfish devotion had since then been his war-cry.

In the beginning of the next year he passed the B.A. Examination of the Punjab University and obtained the much coveted degree, standing 1st in the list of successful candidates of that year.

Throughout the year 1884 his health was very bad, as we find from frequent entries in the diaries. But notwithstanding all that he took a very prominent part in the settlement of two very important and intricate questions which at one time threatened to divide the Samaj into two parties; one was the settlement of the constitution of the D.A.V. College Society and Managing Committee and the other was the constitution and organization of the Arya Pritinidhi Sabha or the representative assembly of the Arya Samaj. Frequent and long discussions took place in the meetings of the executive committee of the Lahore Arya Samaj, and for a period of over some months the energies of the Lahore Samaj were very heavily taxed to solve the problems upon which depended the future of the Arya Samaj and D.A.V. College movement, because the success of every society and institution depends, I should say, solely upon the solidity of the constitution which its promoters give it. The capabilities of those who get the right of voting as representatives, are a fair index to the stability of the institutions for the purpose of maintaining which the society and the representative assembly are created.

The main question, in connection with the constitution of the D.A.V. College Society and Managing Committee, upon which there existed a difference of opinion, related to the qualifications of members. Who should be the member of the Society? Whether all Arya Samajists had a right and should be allowed to become members of the Society, and if so, under what conditions

and restrictions and in what proportion to the Arya Samajists? Who should form the constituencies of the members of the Managing Committee? What method of election should be adopted and whether outsiders, i.e. those who did not belong to the Arya Samaj, should have seats, and if so, how? These were some of the questions upon which a vast difference of opinion existed amongst the leaders of the movement. The Executive Committee of the Lahore Arya Samaj, which claimed some of the leaders of the movement as its members, was divided—the worthy President of the Samaj being for the government and control of the institution being vested exclusively in the Arya Samaj, a very strong and intelligent opposition, under the leadership of Lala Lal Chand, M.A., claiming a share for the general public. Long and late were the sittings of the Committee and night after night were the questions argued. Beautiful, highly encouraging, though sometimes full of apprehensions of the direst sort, was the spectacle of these discussions, in which each professed to fight for the truth, and each vied with the other in his love for the institution, the future of which depended upon the result of those stormy deliberations never to be forgotten in the annals of the Lahore Arya Samaj. All personal considerations and the claims of relationship and friendship were merged in one thought—that of the success of the movement. Our hero was not without his share. At length the sagacity of the wise President of the Lahore Samaj, the eloquence of G.D. Vidyarthi, and the noble liberality and prudence of the opposition, suggested a compromise—a compromise which did credit to both parties, and upon which the constitution of the D.A.V. College Society and Managing Committee has since then been built. Thus was the present constitution of the governing body of the D.A.V. College—a constitution of which any society might well be proud—laid on a deep and solid foundation. Arya Samajes, who have as such contributed a sum of Rs. 1,000 to the Funds of the Institution, enjoyed the franchise of returning members for the Managing Committee and such elected members had the option, if they chose to exercise it, of taking in outsiders, i.e. non-Arya Samajists, as representatives of law, engineering, education, aristocracy, trade, learning, provided the total number of the latter never exceeded one-third of the strength of the whole Committee.

The other question, viz. the question of the constitution of the Representative Assembly of the Arya Samajes involved an issue of still greater magnitude and upon that there existed a still greater difference of opinion. Not only were the Punjab Arya Samajists divided in opinion, but, on the other hand, the difference in this matter extended to other provinces as well.

Closer and hotter grew the contest but in the end principle prevailed and the rules framed by the learned and legal draftsman of the Arya Samajes,—Rai Mulraj, M.A., Prem Chand Ray Chand Student,—were in the main adopted by Representatives of different Arya Samajes gathered for the purpose at Amritsar.

The slight modifications and alterations, indulged in, have by experience proved to be inexpedient and impracticable, and though the rules are not all that could be desired, the constitution of the Representative Assembly of the Arya Samajes of the Punjab is on a fair and at least safe footing.

Guru Datta Vidyarthi took a very active part in the discussions on those rules and in one place in his diaries we find the following remark, "The Amritsar Arya Samaj anniversary is drawing near. They have undertaken to discuss the question of Samaj representation, then. Should intellect predominate, or wealth or number. . . . The quadruple of . . . practically overrule my opinions. I am sent to Amritsar as a representative. The scheme is to be laid there. Let us set at once to proper work. There is no man in Lahore or anywhere else to back our views except Sain Das."

Subsequent to this he was present on the occasion of the meeting of the Arya Pritinidhi Sabha of N.W.P. at Meerut, where by the courtesy of President Munshi Lachhman Saroop, Pandit G.D. Vidyarthi and other Punjabi gentlemen were allowed to take part in the discussion, which ensued on the rules, and which differed in several material points from those adopted in the Punjab.

This year the Executive Committee of the Lahore Arya Samaj decided to start the *Arya Patrika*. The paper made its appearance in June 1885 and everybody knows that G.D., Vidyarthi often wrote for it.

The D.A.V. College movement stood in need of the services of an eloquent, learned and well-read lecturer, who could claim to combine scholarly attainments in Western sciences, with equally brilliant acquirements in the vast field of Sanskrit literature. The movement wanted a speaker whose learning and character would inspire confidence, and whose rhetoric might touch the hearts of the audiences, preparing them for sacrifices without which success would be impossible. The Arya Samajes, or, say, the Hindu community, wanted a leader who would fire their imaginations and win their hearts. The countrymen of Patanjali, Gautama and other shining lights in the chaos of this temporary world wanted one who would command enthusiasm, lead them to the heights of glory achieved by their forefathers and thence show them the deep abyss of darkness, ignorance and superstition in which they had been. Such a lecturer, such a speaker, and such a leader they found in the person of a mere student, Vidyarthi of the Local Government College, who had obtained over his associates the ascendant power which is the destiny of genius, who had become the pride of the College as well as of the Society to which he had the honour to belong. At this early period of his life, his lectures, his speeches, his utterances had begun to be looked to with passionate earnestness and the number of his hearers had begun to swell.

Every Arya Samaj felt the necessity of claiming him as anniversary lecturer. Every promoter of the D.A.V. College movement began to take a deep interest

in his existence and to connect the success of the movement with the success of his speeches. High and low, rich and poor—everyone—began to consider it a duty to respond to his fervid appeals for funds in aid of the Institution.

In 1885 Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi attended several places on his mission connected with the D.A.V. College and everywhere met with signal success. He attended the anniversary meeting of the Amritsar Arya Samaj and delivered a lecture which the *Arya Patrika* of the 31st October 1885 noticed in the following terms:

> Lala Guru Datta Vidyarthi, B.A., an able member of the Lahore Samaj, then followed. He delivered a very impressive and learned speech and proved by quoting and explaining a *Mantra* of the *Rig Veda* that the assertion of the late Maharshi Swami Dayanand Saraswati that the Vedas contained the germs of all knowledge was quite true. In one single *Mantra* quoted by him he showed that all the properties of air were forcefully described. He also stated that the study of the Vedas was very necessary from many points of view.
>
> He said that even those who considered the Vedas as worthless books, should feel a keen interest in spreading their knowledge, because that alone was the way of shaking the faith of the people in them, if they were really books containing childish things. In the end he said that the first duty of every well-wisher of the country was to contribute to the fund of the Anglo-Vedic College.

Further on, in the same notice we find that "by estimate the new subscription promised on the spot amounted to Rs. 10,000."

Later on, the same year we find our hero engaged in pouring forth the sentiments of his noble soul to the simpler but braver hearts of Northern Punjab on the occasion of the anniversary of the Rawalpindi Arya Samaj, where about Rs. 1,600 were subscribed on the spot.

Here we bring what may be called his college life almost to a close. With the advent of the next year G.D. Vidyarthi ascended another step in the academical honours of the local University and took his degree of M.A. in Physics, standing first in the list of students who succeeded that year.

Chapter IV—Part 1st

In April we find Lala Guru Datta Vidyarthi, M.A., attending the anniversary of the Peshawar Arya Samaj, where Rs. 2,000 were raised on the spot.

Again on the 31st of May Lala Guru Datta Vidyarthi, M.A., delivered a very eloquent lecture in a public meeting held in the premises of the Lahore Arya Samaj to explain the aims and objects of the D.A.V. School, which was opened the next day. Several other lectures were delivered at other stations, amongst them being Bagwanpura and Ferozepore, which were all without any exception attended with signal success, and at which large sums of money were raised for the D.A.V. College.

The next lecture of great importance was delivered on the occasion of the 9th anniversary of the Amritsar Arya Samaj on the 7th October 1886. This lecture was reported in the *Arya Patrika*, from which we take the following extract:

> Then followed the eloquent and most impressive lecture of Pandit G.D. Vidyarthi, M.A., on the D.A.V. College movement. His speech moved the hearts of all the people present and produced a wonderful effect. He proved to demonstration that it was one of the chief duties of all the Arya Samajists to help in the foundation of this grand seminary of Sanskrit and Western sciences and technical instruction in memory of the founder of the Arya Samaj. His appeal to the public was very impressive, and on his speech being brought to a close, Rs. 908-4 in cash were collected. Six silver *anants*, two gold rings, and one silver *chund* were also given . . . in aid of the College fund, besides Rs. 250 promised to be paid.

This was one of those lectures, which established his claim to be called a Pandit, and henceforth we find him being addressed by that title as a rule. The ever-growing fame of reputation thus kindled and spread reached its climax on the 9th anniversary of the Lahore Arya Samaj, where Panditji delivered two of his most learned, captivating and eloquent lectures—one in Vernacular on the D.A.V. College and the other in English on the Arya Samaj. About Rs. 6,000 in cash and jewellery worth Rs. 400 were realized on the spot and further subscriptions to the amount of Rs. 1,000 promised.

Again on the 27th December he addressed a large audience of the educated community of Jallundher on the same subject. He proved to the satisfaction of the audience that a Vedic College which should combine moral and physical with intellectual training was the want of the country. The appeal to the generosity of the Jallundher community was nobly responded to and Rs. 1,900 raised on the spot.

Henceforth G.D. Vidyarthi was the ideal of the non-idolatrous Arya Samajists. The homage which the learning of the former elicited at the hands of the latter, was nothing less nor more than what has been styled by one of the greatest prose writers of England as "Hero-worship". Let us not be

misunderstood. "Hero-worship" is not in any way inconsistent with the religious faith of the Arya Samaj. It is quite distinguishable from an ordinary Hindu worship of Ram Chander and Krishna, and the gist of the distinction lies in the latter being considered an incarnation of the Deity. A society which can claim no heroes, which cannot pay homage to the heroism of its martyrs, is not worth its name, and the sooner it is removed from the pale of existence, the better for itself, as well as for mankind in general. In the course of this year after he had passed his M.A., he was appointed an Assistant Professor of Science in the Government College, Lahore, the onerous duties of which post he performed with great credit.

In this year he read *Ayur Veda Shastra* and acquired a fair knowledge of the old Aryan system of medicine, of which subsequently he became a great admirer, as he in one place remarks that the "European medicine won't do for India."

It was in the June of this year that the Peshawar Arya Samaj returned him as their representative in the Managing Committee of the D.A.V. College Society; that very month he was taken in as a member of the School Sub-Committee.

All through this year he kept bad health. On the 28th of January, he complained of having been suffering from many and numerous discharges and throughout his diaries he had been noticing this disease. Who knows how much this contributed to his death? In the next month, he noticed frequent pain in the liver. In August he broke his left arm, and he also suffered from other complaints and diseases, which he did not condescend to note.

This year witnessed a marked progress in his tone, and we find him very thoughtful at the unpractical character of many an Arya Samajist. On the 19th January whilst enjoying a walk, an idea struck him to discover whether he believed in what he said, upon which he remarks: "Belief has only one outcome, action. Samajists that merely talk and do not act, show that they do not believe. As well might Swami say: I succeeded, because I believed in what I said. You do not act as you do not believe, but merely show yourselves to believe what you say."

While his fame was spreading far and wide and his reputation as an orator and a scholar was advancing with rapid strides, he himself was day by day becoming more and more conscious of his own weaknesses. While the world was hailing him as a God-sent Reformer, he was deeply pondering over a scheme to reform himself. We find that anxiety displayed in many a note in his diary, from which we quote only one remark: 2nd July—Is it possible for me to reform? If so, under what conditions can I issue "no admittance?" This sentence only gives us some insight into the native simplicity of G.D. Vidyarthi's mind. He knew that his reform depended upon the regulation of his time and upon his

refusing admittance to people, who used to flock to him, some to make his acquaintance, others to get difficult religious questions solved, others to test his ability, others to learn, read and be benefited and so on, and to none of them he refused to accord a welcome. We will refer to the subject again, when writing of the cause of the illness which resulted in his death.

In the Christmas of this year, he visited Delhi in the company of Lala Sain Das, Lala Madan Singh, B. A., Pandit Shiva Datta Ram of Amritsar and myself. We had, of course, gone not on a pleasure trip, but in the cause of the D.A.V. College. Panditji delivered two lectures at the house of Lala Girdhari Lal, Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, and our poor efforts met with fair success. One day we went to enjoy the scenery of the celebrated Qutab Minar and while seeing the ruins of Prithvi Raj's fort, Panditji observed its structure with great care and drew a deep sigh. As an example of his powers of observation, I record that, while going into the tomb of Humayun, he picked up several pebbles from the road and said that they were of a peculiar kind and would be useful in scientific experiments.

Chapter IV—Part 2nd

Throughout the year 1886 his health was very bad and the constant strain upon his mind and body left no other alternative. His diaries contain numerous complaints of different diseases, only one of which resulted several times in the fall of the uvula and once on the very next day after he had delivered his lecture in the anniversary meeting of the Lahore Arya Samaj. But his energetic nature never allowed these complaints to stand in the way of his doing good to his mother country, until the whole of his constitution felt the fatal touch of consumption.

Another year of his earthly existence brought the development of his moral and spiritual nature into more prominent and fuller play, indicating an expanded mind and inclination to lofty spirituality. Panditji's was a passionately strong nature which, with advancing years, with a deeper study of Vedic religion, with a knowledge of true theology and with an insight (though still very faint) into the interior reality of the innermost self, was developing a marvellously pure morality. His ideas of morality were so high and distinct that the slightest act of immorality (from his point of view) excited his wrath or rather pity. Expediency, tactics and policy had no place in his code of morals. Once there arose a dispute about the morality or immorality of a certain act of mine, which Panditji decried in as high terms as he could command. While defending my

own action, I quoted the authority of several friends, one of whom had once been the office-holder of a certain Samaj, and pleaded his own (i.e. Panditji's) previous sanction as well (I refrain from giving the details of this act of mine, because its publication will not only do no good but will involve me in personalities, which I want to avoid); but in reply to my pleas, Panditji wrote to me a long letter, covering very closely written eight pages of cream-laid superfine octavo notepaper, under date 13th April 1887.

Panditji's sense of displeasure can be judged from his leaving the usual affectionate mode of address and beginning the epistle with cold, chilling and formal "Lala Lajpat Rai". I am not going to give a copy of the whole letter here, but will content myself with giving quotations from here and there, which will serve to explain my proposition about the lofty sense of morality enjoyed by Guru Datta Vidyarthi.

About one of the friends referred to above, he wrote:

> I have passed many of my happy moments with him and, therefore, love him and like him much. But I know full well without discredit to him that in religion and morality he is only superficial, he has not gone deep into these subjects, but I know that he is simple and innocent of mind. I do not, therefore, regard his verdict of any very great moral or religious value. But as for . . . sanctioning your step, it is simply a painful revelation to me. I never thought that . . . a believer in Vedic doctrines, an advocate of transmigration of souls, a simple enthusiastic Arya of old standing, who has grown in age with belief in these doctrines, who was so well sincere in his belief in God as *moral Governor* of the universe, who was not a hypocritical theist but one who believed God for God's sake and for his own sake. Yes, I never thought that . . . could ever sanction the step you adopted. It only reveals to me too painfully the narrow, worldly, unspiritual nature of humanity at present, it only teaches me how what might have been called flowery creation of omnipotence to embellish, beautify, perfect and remodel the present base and corrupt society, may even at the best be victims of serious diseases and blastings.

"O Mightier than the mightiest, Thy spiritual action has now begun and *will terminate* in Thy creation's good!" The italics are his own. Further on, he explains what he was said to have sanctioned and in connection therewith says:

> I remember full well that my answer was reluctantly given. Yet, not so reluctantly as to render my repugnance apparent. But I well remember the answer I gave. I said that for that act of yours alone, you will not lose my estimation or affection. Yes, for that act alone. Let me explain myself. I

know that one immoral act is only a stepping stone to another. One who does one immoral act now, is more easily led to commit another immoral act on another occasion. I meant with due knowledge of this that should you prove yourself to be so strong-willed as not to be led in future to such acts, in virtue of having done so once, I would not have to change my affection towards you, only being weak enough to perceive the worldly emergency that seemed irresistibly leading you to the act. For, I thought you would more than compensate by the advantage you would obtain in virtue of that immoral step, the evil act, by your leading a gloriously public, upright, useful life in future. But the whole of my estimate was wholly wrong. You did not pursue an upright life thereafter. You were tempted by the devil many times and successfully. Yes, the devil sometimes in the hopes of money, sometimes in the hopes of honour and sometimes in the hopes of pride, tempted you and you came out weak enough to care for them. When once an immoral act had placed you in a position of advantage with respect to worldly matters, you did not care to improve yourself morally, religiously, or intellectually. The same frivolities yet encompassed you. You progressed, however, in the worship of custom and of the devil of popularity. You learned oriental manners (of wretched politeness of North Western Province etiquette, of shallow tone of morality, of showiness in dress and showiness in keeping a respectable establishment in preference to *simple*, *rough*, *natural*, *godly*, *manly* manners. Heaven sent you a sacred trust and you did not prove equal to the dispensation of wisdom of Providence. God sent . . . a promising youth to you for correction and thorough *organization*; but you *did not* prevent him from secretly cherishing all sorts of worldly deceits, meannesses and evils (the information upon which he wrote this sentence was quite wrong). On all that I have written to you, I write to you, not from my experience, for of what weight can a sinner's experience at all be?, but with the voice of intuition. (The italics are his own. After writing a few details, he resumes his expostulation.) But my function is not to reprimand, not to reprove, not to abuse, not to revile, not to offend you, but to obey some higher impulses, to dictate the supernal law, by holding it naked before you and then to demand your approval of the law, if not always your obedience. I ask you to be sincere and open-hearted if you would be free and virtuous. Myself a *great sinner* but not a rogue, I am shamed to advise you. But I am impressed by supernal forces to do what I am doing. O angels of sincerity bear me on your wings!

I care not for . . . (name of a great French author), now send me the books if you like, or do not if you will, it is only your concern, I do not attach any importance to it. To me now, I assure you, the real inner fountain of knowledge is worth my life, . . . even thousands are but trifles in

comparison. I am sincere, I assure you, not a hair of worldliness is before me, in me, or with me now. May the Almighty protect me!

Embrace . . . (name of the same author) and hold him fast in your mind and never part with him if he is your idol, O worldly youth! But remember there is a nobler nature in man, a much higher, a far nobler, a by far transcendant, gloriously blissful nature in man, that you have ever conceived of. Yes, there is in man a *divinity*, a godliness. Prepare yourself to receive it in proportion to your preparation and fitness for the share you shall have. I assure you that if man once becomes conscious of his innate powers and glorious capabilities, I know there are not dungeons, not sins, not miseries enough in this world that can prevent him from walking forth godlike and in the image of his Creator.

Read the last full stop hundred times over if you will, and feel and feel its meaning till it pierces your mind's innermost core. That is the only consolation I can give, the only solace I can afford. May Heaven shield and protect you and move you to nobler and higher ends!

By God's grace,

Your sincere well-wisher and earnest
prayerful adviser, though a great sinner himself,

Guru Datta Vidyarthi

Yes, though not hundred times, I have read it many times over, and reading it now, when the wings of immortality have carried the writer away, can only pray from "the innermost core" of my heart, that the Supernal Soul may vouchsafe peace unto him, who preached peace unto me! Direct me and guide me still, Oh thou, the sojourner of the other world, where I know you are developing the nobler instincts of your pure soul!

I know that the publication of this letter will cause many a terrible reflection to be thrown upon my character, but I do not care for them. The act, which brought this condemnation, was a sin no doubt and deserved as severe a censure as could be passed by man, because it involved a blasphemy in believing the possibility of moral laws being changed by times and ages. Yes, it was a still greater sin, because its morality was defended or attempted to be defended by the standard of the current rules of morality, and if for nothing else, I should be ready to give publicity to the letter, because of the many and various aspersions and reflections it may cause to be thrown upon my character, as that will serve the purpose of a just punishment for what I did. Though I may assure the reader at the same time that the most of what brought this detailed condemnation,

related, as appears from the text, to my temporary indifference to public duties and breach of promise, there were other acts of commission as well, which would have been overlooked but for the *omissions* with respect to public duties. The letter is so fully descriptive of the genuine state of Panditji's moral and ethical feelings, that it would have been a sin to keep it back. A cursory perusal of it should give a lie direct to those who professed to doubt or question the sincerity of Panditji's religious and spiritual teachings. Panditji was not a sinless creature, nor did he ever claim to be such, and nobody ever took him to be so devoid of common sense as to believe he could wax oratorical on one who could give him a retort. But really and truly a change, a change of very high order, had been wrought out in him, in his morality and in his religion, so that he could not help yielding to the impulses of intuition as he says. Let me say at once that the letter convinced me of the immorality of my acts and I begged pardon of him, which he was graciously pleased to give me.

To complete the chain, I may as well give a copy of a card which I received only a day or two before the letter which has been so largely quoted from. It ran as follows:

> Lala Lajpat Rai, I read your card . . . I can but pity the mind that, being drawn away from paths of virtue and rectitude herself, is persuaded to disturb the moral and spiritual harmony of others. I would rather wish you to be cruel, offensive and ungrateful to me, than wish you to lead me to sin and positive disorder. My mind is too full of affections; but I have a card only to write upon. If this can bring a lost sheep to the herd, may God bless!
>
> Yours offendingly,
> Guru Datta Vidyarthi

I distinctly remember to have received several letters after this, in which he forgave me for what had offended him so much, and the quotations from letters received in 1888, which I am going to refer to hereafter, will corroborate my statements.

Chapter V

The year 1887 brought another promotion. The Officiating Assistant Professor of Physical Science was raised to the Officiating Professorship of Science in place of Mr. Oman, who went on leave. The duties of this exalted position he

performed with such ease and success as drew forth admiration and respect from everyone who had the opportunity to observe. In the examination of 1887-88, all the students who took up science passed in that subject with one single exception, about whom Panditji remarked that he did not deserve to pass.

With a step higher in the scale of social position, we observe an extraordinary energy being exhibited on the spiritual and patriotic phase of his existence. A glance at his diary (elsewhere quoted) will show it so far as the former is concerned, and as to the latter the following facts in connection with his efforts towards the D.A.V. College will amply repay perusal.

On the 31st of January he gave a lecture at Gujranwala, about which the *Arya Patrika* of the 1st March 1887 wrote as follows:

> Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi, M.A., Assistant Professor of Science, Government College, Lahore, gave a fascinating lecture on the D.A.V. College movement. He opened his lecture with the *Yajur Veda mantra:*
>
> *Asuryanam te lokah andhena, tamsa vratah,*
> *tans te pretyabhigachhanti ye ke cha atma hano janah.*
>
> He very impressively described that those are the murderers of the soul who do not observe the dictates of *Shashtras* and neglect to practise the rules of the student's celibacy or *Brahmacharya*, as it is called in Sanskrit. He said that the violation of *Brahmacharya* by early marriage was the cause of prevalent evils. Ignorance, weakness and wickedness were only the offspring of it. He supported his reasonings with scientific explanations, and exemplified the healthy effects of *Brahmacharya* on all our powers lasting up to the end of our life by describing the vigorous powers of the senses of our revered Swami Maharshi Dayanand Saraswati, and comparing disadvantageously his youthful eye-sight with the unusual intensity of the Maharshi's. By many instructing illustrations he thoroughly impressed upon the people that we are acting the murderers of our soul in not consulting the Shastras. He concluded his appeal to the awakening sense of the audience by pointing out the advantages that would accrue to the country at large by the institution of the D.A.V. College, which would teach all the rules which were so very beneficent and useful to man on earth in accomplishing the object of his life. His appeal was generously responded to by many donations on the spot, which amounted to nearly Rs. 1,000 cash and about twice that sum promised.

I give these long quotations in order to prove that each time Panditji delivered a lecture upon this favourite subject of his, he dealt with it from a

different point of view. The arguments and the sentiments expressed in one were hardly repeated in the other. This shows a mastery which was quite his own.

Again on the 27th of March, we find him lecturing upon the same subject at Jhelum. Here he treated the subject from a new point of view, viz. the revealed character of the Vedas and of the necessity of the revival of Vedic study. The subscriptions raised on the occasion are reported to have been about Rs. 2,000, Rs. 1,000 of which was realized in cash. In noticing this lecture our friend, the *Arya Patrika*, designated Panditji as "our famous anniversary lecturer on the D.A.V. College movement."

Before the 1st half of the year closed, we find him selected as one of those who were to form a deputation to collect subscription in aid of the D.A.V. College from N.W.P. and Oude. Several deputations were proposed for different parts of the country, but only one could be formed which went to N.W.P. and Oude. Even this deputation could not be so strong as it was contemplated that it should be. However, Pandit G.D. Vidyarthi was one who joined this deputation and at almost every risk.

It was in the summer of 1886, in fact, when the idea of sending such a deputation was conceived and since then the idea had been gaining strength both from the financial and Samajic social points of view. In 1886 Panditji could not consent to go, because his father was very ill and required his presence. The keenness with which Panditji felt this inability can only be judged from his own words, which I quote from a letter dated 10th July 1886 and addressed to me in answer to some enquiries:

> My father is very weak and ill at Muzaffergarh. He likes that I should live with him. Now I am only officiating in Lahore. His coming here will unnecessarily produce undue expenditure. Besides, his being here will not allow me to stir from Lahore, my promises to go on a *mission Samajic or other will go for nothing.* Duty to father and *duty to country are at conflict.* Mind is set at abeyance; every holiday I go to Multan and come back.

Again twelve days after in a letter which has no date and which is stamped *Lahore, 22nd July 1886*, he wrote:

> Guru Datta Vidyarthi is sad enough to find that he cannot leave Muzaffergarh, at which place he will *perhaps* sojourn during the whole term of the vacation. *He is but powerless to wander about a-preaching.*
>
> Father is very ill and he most urgently demands my presence with him every moment. *I know what sacrifices shall I have to undergo to please my father.* Say what you will advise.

I cannot avoid the temptation of quoting the concluding portion of this, rather a lengthy, letter, which abounds in beautiful sentiments towards the work of reform, and which ends in giving a sublime piece of advice to my humble self. Says he:

> Lajpat Rai, can you not think of a more permanent scheme of ameliorating your country? What are you doing at Hissar or Rohtak? *Life is not worth living in the way you seem to lead it.* Have you any warm friends to enjoy there? (Be happy and blessed, if such be the case.) *Have you any prospect of bettering your country there? (I must not be too perverse in my mind, if I could think of it.)* Have you any chance of obeying the impulse of your nature, of cultivating your gifts, your once charming oratory, now crest-fallen, feminine unmanly voice to supplant the former? I think well of your circumstances, and if possible *devise to do good to your country.*

In the same strain he continues to say,

> Fame is a wonderful impetus. *But my dear sir, don't pant after fame. Do solid good to your country without faming yourself more than you deserve.* Work silently and then the fame of posterity shall be your reward. The present generation is not the generation at whose hands you should crave the boon of being admitted into the temple of fame. Woe to him, who vainly desirous of fame pursues the goddess, with phantom presents.

Noble words worth inscribing in golden letters. Everywhere in quotations from the letter the italics are mine. The desire of going on a mission for the D.A.V. College found formal expression in a resolution of the Managing Committee by which these deputations were constituted. But unfortunately the same difficulty which stood in Panditji's way of going on a mission in 1886, again made its unwelcome appearance in 1887. Panditji's father became seriously and irrecoverably ill and every moment was he in fear of losing his revered parent. But this time "Duty to country" proved a stronger tie and the noble father willingly allowed his beloved, dutiful and only son to respond to the call. Blessed was the son who claimed the honour of having of such a father, and far more blessed was the father who possessed such an illustrious patriot for his son. In the months of July and August he was constantly going to and coming from Multan where his father was. He made all possible arrangements for the comforts of his father and started with the deputation on the 2nd September. The small party consisted at first of Lala Lal Chand, M.A., Lala Madan Singh, B.A., Lala Jwala Sahai and Panditji.

On their way to Delhi, Lala Dwarka Das, M.A., joined them and at Delhi

myself. I remember that while at Delhi Panditji was afraid of hearing his father's death at every moment and so intense was his anxiety that almost every day he kept telegraphing for the news of his health. The work of this deputation was mainly done by going to the houses of and waiting upon private gentlemen for help in the cause of the D.A.V. College fund; lectures were, of course, given at almost every station, but no appeals for funds were made in public meetings. The unpleasantness of the difficult, undignified, tiresome and delicate task of begging for funds from each and every man, whether a previous acquaintance or not, cannot be estimated by those who never have had any experience of such-like expeditions. From the short experience I had of Delhi only, I can say that but for the national cause the task was a very unpleasant one.

Abuse, taunts, heart-burning and most humiliating epithets of all and every sort were the rewards of those who begged for the national cause, who, so to speak, merged their individual social position in their efforts to secure the means of getting to a higher position in the societies of the world. I, who had the misfortune of being obliged to leave the deputation on account of getting ill, cannot give the reader an idea of the high spirit with which this deputation worked, but can only say from a report of their work published in the *Arya Patrika* from the pen of Lala Madan Singh, B.A., that the deputation fully sustained the honour of the Punjab Arya Samajes and the lectures of Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi, M.A., Lala Dwarka Das, M.A., elicited admiration and praise from everyone who had the good fortune of hearing them.

Aligarh, Bareilly, Muradabad, Lucknow, Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore, and Farrukhabad were visited in the course of about a month and a half and more than Rs. 5,000 was the result of this mission. From Farrukhabad the deputation accepted nothing as the subscriptions offered were far beneath the position and the dignity of the donors and moreover because there they had gone more with the object of making up the domestic dissensions of the two sections of the Farrukhabad Arya Samajists, rather than for collecting subscription. Yes, many a hall in the N.W.P. resounded with the clear, strong and pithy voice of the Punjabi. It may be at once recorded that though the expenses of this deputation were offered to be paid by the Managing Committee, none of the gentlemen constituting it, accepted the offer and thus everybody paid his own expenses. On the 29th of October, i.e. only a few days after his return from this deputation, we find this untiring spirit again on his way to Rawalpindi to attend the anniversary meeting of that Samaj, where he delivered two very learned lectures, one on *Sukshma Sharir* and the other on the 1st two *mantras* of the *Rig Veda*. In the course of the latter, he made a vigorous appeal to the audience, exhorting them to take particular care for the amelioration of their souls. He is reported to have closed his address with the following sentence, which we quote upon the authority of the Joint Secretary of the Rawalpindi

Arya Samaj, who took part in the proceedings. He said, "If you are convinced you have a soul within you, if you are convinced your life will not end with the dissolution of your outer selves, but that there is something within you, which will live after your bodies have perished, and if you desire that this soul of yours should go on progressing and are aware that learning will effect this object, you must join in helping in the establishment of the D.A.V. College. The cause of the progress of the soul is the cause of all humanity and Hindus and Mohammadans and Christians should all join in this noble cause." Rs. 1,253-4-6 were collected upon the spot. He had just returned to Lahore, and had not rested one night even, when he received an inauspicious telegram announcing the death of his beloved father. He at once telegraphed to his servant and relations at Multan to preserve the body. Early next morning he left for Multan. This leads us to the performance of the funeral ceremony which was, of course, performed strictly according to the Vedic rites. The only obstacle to his doing so, which he apprehended he would have, seemed to be the prejudices and the opposition of his mother; but the latter proving to be worthy of this son, he did not care a straw for the opposition of his *Biradiri*. Instead of writing my own remarks about his heroic spirit and moral courage on this occasion, let us quote from the editorial note of the *Arya Patrika* of 15th November 1887. After expressing sympathy with him in the loss he had suffered, the Editor says:

> Our brother behaved nobly on the occasion. He performed his father's *Mritak Sanskar* in strict accordance with the word of the Divine law. His *Biradiri*, which contains in its ranks some of the most influential inhabitants of Mooltan, threatened to cast him off for ever and ever, but he paid not the slightest attention to their impotent vociferations. He told them to go and do their worst; as for himself, he said nothing could shake him out of the resolve, he had taken, of conducting the obsequies of his parent on Vedic principles. The *Biradiri* stormed and threatened over and over again, but to no purpose. He would not shift an inch from his position, and he did everything as became an Arya, in utter defiance and contempt of the formidable host of castemen, who wanted to intimidate him by their threats. The body was to be burnt according to the rules of *Mritak Sanskar*, and there were hundreds of people of both sexes, to whom the sight was novel as well as interesting, who accompanied the procession even to the burning ground in order to see how all would go. A large portion of the crowd was made up of those who were closely or remotely related to the members of the *Biradiri*, and, though no means were left untried to prevent them from going out and having a look at the bier—the power of the fist being freely tried on the persons of females—yet they broke through the restrictions

put upon them by their guardians, and followed the bier to the burning ground, which they left only when the *Mritak Sanskar* ceremonies were over. The moral effect of the bold and Aryan-like conduct on our brother's part was most wholesome—it was felt by the Samajists and the outsiders alike. The manly and uncompromising behaviour of the Pandit on the occasion demonstrated to the nominal Arya that the name Arya had some signification, that its adoption, on a man's part, entailed on him certain duties, and chalked out for him a certain course of procedure, in matters both public and private, which he must pursue at all hazards, and, to the outsiders, it proved that an Arya had strength of character in him, and knew how to uphold truth when truth was to be upheld.

Calculating roughly, it cost our brother about Rs. 200 to perform the obsequies of his father on the principles of the Aryan Scriptures. Had the body been burnt in the present fashion, it would not have cost more than Rs. 20 or 30.

After he had done with *Mritak Sanskar* of his father, he lost no time in coming back to Lahore, where preparations were fast being made to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the Lahore Arya Samaj on the 20th and 27th of the same month. On this occasion also he delivered two lectures, one in vernacular on the subject of the D.A.V. College and the other in English on "Solid Trinity." We were not present at any of these lectures and therefore our readers should be content with the following quotation from the report published in the *Arya Patrika*:

To attempt even to give a distant idea of the earnestness, the depth of feeling with which he spoke on the occasion would be to attempt an impossibility. A death-like silence reigned in the hall when he spoke, and a gathering of men numbering little less than 3 thousand, sat the very embodiment of muteness. Everything, he said, had a ring of sincerity and earnestness about it. His utterings were the utterings of a feeling heart, his tone, his language gave the most unmistakable evidence in the fact that he *felt* what he said. We have seldom heard a more electrifying speech. Verily the language of the heart, in spite of all its simplicity, excels the most exquisite pieces of eloquence without sincerity and innermost earnestness to back upon them. He exemplified his remarks by drawing illustrations from the life of Swami Dayanand; and we are but faithfully chronicling the facts when we say that we saw the tears coursing down the faces of many.

We have not space enough to give the bare outlines of his lecture, it was indeed a wonderful speech. The gist of the lecture was the D.A.V.

College, which was intended to be established in memory of those eternal truths which Swami Dayanand had preached, and not in memory of anything apart from those truths. It was to be a monument of those principles of religion and morality, those unchangeable truths which it had been the principles and the all-absorbing object of Swami Dayanand's life and not of the more personality of the illustrious reformer. Whoever valued those eternal truths, those unchangeable, those imperishable principles of religion, was bound to contribute something towards the D.A.V. College fund, but nothing was further from the intention of the lecturer than to ask anybody who did not perfectly agree in his sentiments with the lecturer, to contribute even a single farthing towards the movement, for he detested hypocrisy of whatever kind from all his heart and soul. The lecturer sat down amidst deafening cheers. About five thousand rupees were subscribed on the occasion, out of which Rs. 4,128 were realized on the spot, the remaining eight or nine hundred promised to be paid afterwards. The proceedings of the morning came to a close at about 1 P.M.

About the English lecture, it simply says that "it was a complete success and that the gist of the lecture was that no theology could be sound unless it believed in the existence of three co-eternal entities, i.e. matter, human spirit and God."

With the next month came four lectures, three in English and one in vernacular: two at Lahore in English on "The Realities of Inner Life", (which has since then been published in a pamphlet form and mentioned elsewhere in this book), and "The Object of Life"; two at Ajmere, on "Truth" and "The Arya Samaj".

I was present at the last two lectures and can confidently say that the first of them was a masterpiece. The subject was a special favourite of his, in dealing which he condemned all sorts of policies and diplomacies and laid great stress upon the purity of our lives. It was a lecture which went to the hearts of the audience and uplifted many a brother from falling down in the abyss of hypocrisy. The free and full delivery of the other lecture was checked by Panditji's getting feverish shortly before the fixed time. Nevertheless, the lecture came off at the right time and lasted for about an hour.

While making a mention of those lectures, I might say that we (with Lala Sain Das, Lala Hans Raj and Lala Jwala Sahai) had gone to attend the meeting of the Paropakarni Sabha held in Christmas vacation, on which occasion was laid the foundation-stone of the Dayanand Ashram. It was here while coming back from Pushkar that some 200 Arya Samajists of different provinces, assembled on the occasion, had the opportunity of observing the simplicity of the flower of the Punjab Arya Samajes.

The N.W.P. brothers were simply astonished to see the Punjab Sabhasads (all of whom were men of position), stooping to eat grain with native sweetmeat, i.e. *gur*. The reason was that when we descended the hills, we all felt a healthy appetite and therefore took advantage of the existence of a shop which sold sundry sweetmeats and grain, the last of course being the neatest of all.

Leaving Ajmere we stopped on our way at Jeypore where Panditji and others had a look at the Astronomical Observatory of the Maharaja. The observatory displayed the ruins of what was once a great scientific seat and there were plentiful proofs of fallen intellectual greatness and of entirely forgotten sciences.

Chapter VI

> "What hidden wealth to be unveiled! What treasures of literature, of history, of science and philosophy to be made known to the world!"
>
> —*M.L. Jacolliot*

The year 1888 still found him restlessly engaged. On the 18th January Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi delivered a lecture in the premises of the Lahore Arya Samaj on the teachings of Krishna. The lecture was a very important one and that from several points of view. He propounded that Krishna was no real personage but simply an allegorical phrase. We cull the following about this lecture from the *Arya Patrika* of 31st January 1888:

> The spirit of the lecture was something new. The Hindu belief that Krishna was an incarnation of the Deity, that he possessed the power of working miracles, as also the belief of some that he founded a system of philosophy, were each one by one shown to be unfounded. Another belief, which is very general, is that Krishna in a way induced Arjuna (the worldwide famous Hero of the Mahabharat) to prepare himself for the war of Mahabharat and so became the main cause of the fall of the Aryan supremacy, and of India's present degenerate state. This conception, said the lecturer, was nothing but a misunderstanding of the spirit of the real purport of Krishna's teachings.
>
> *Dwijanan*, the spiritual rebirth of man, is the realization of the Deity. Man, when reflecting upon the world and its reality, has to pass certain stages. Each such stage is a regular fight between his intellectual and spiritual ideas and it is not without a very great difficulty that he overcomes

the intellectual side, and intellectual belief in God-head becomes a spiritual realization.

This, said the able lecturer, is what the *Gita*, the embodiment of the teachings of Krishna, teaches us. Consequently, none of those four above mentioned beliefs has really any foundation. He also said that the chapters of the *Gita* treated of the respective stages through which man before attaining to the high position of *Dwij*—spiritual rebirth—has to pass.

The lecturer also tried to establish the identity of Krishna and his surroundings with Christ and his surroundings, and said that the emigrants to European countries, owing to their long separation from the original stock, could only put some hazy notions of the teachings of Krishna in the so-called "word of God." Many did not agree with him in the theories so ably deducted and the Editor of the *Arya Patrika* was one of them. However strange the theories might seem to the Hindu world who has from time immemorial been accustomed to believe in Krishna, Arjuna and other characters of the great drama of Mahabharat as real personages whose works are narrated therein, it is not absurd to say that our friend's proposition is worthy of all consideration and it is a good hint for future explorers of the truths of Mahabharat to catch and be guided by them.

On the 29th of the same month he addressed a large audience, who had assembled to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the Amritsar Arya Samaj. "The excellence of Vedic teachings" was the subject. In his usual way he expounded one or two of the *mantras*, written on card-boards hung against the walls of the Samaj, and the *Arya Patrika* says that his exposition of them was so masterly, so learned, so full of earnestness that every word he said penetrated to one's very soul.

The following extract, taken from the report of this lecture as published in the *Arya Patrika* of 7th February 1888, will be of immense interest to those who urge that the reformation of the reformers must precede the reformation of the general public.

He said:

> It was impossible that one who believed in the Vedas in real earnestness, should not be a man in the true sense of the word. A thirsty man with the view to quench his thirst runs to the spot where water is to be had and whatever you may say to desist him from his purpose, whatever arguments you may advance proving that water will not quench his thirst, he will never listen to your arguments, but will forthwith make for the spot and drink water. . . . In the same manner, if the people really know that there was nothing but truth in the Vedas, from one end to the other, if they

realized this fact thoroughly, they would never depart from the line of truth, they would never do aught against the commands of the Vedas. The Arya Samaj had not as yet made as much progress as it ought to have, simply owing to the fact that the majority of its members, though professing to believe in the Vedas, never realized the meaning and force of their belief; if they realized it, they would be much better men than they were. "To think of a real believer", he said, "his audience should think of Swami Dayanand Saraswati."

His lecture, of course, ended with a strong and pathetic appeal for funds for the D.A.V. College and the result was that about Rs. 2,500 were subscribed upon the spot. One notable feature was that about Rs. 12 were subscribed by students studying in the Mission School and about half that sum by those of the Islami School.

The D.A.V. High School having this year taken the foremost place in the results of the Punjab University Examinations, a desire was expressed to open the First Year College Class in connection therewith. Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi was one of those who were for the advance and he was backed by the simple but very powerful and eloquent vote of Lala Sain Das. An important section of the Managing Committee, headed by our worthy President, Lala Lal Chand, considered the step to be premature and thus wanted its postponement. The meeting of the Managing Committee, in which the subject was brought forward and discussed, presented a scene worth seeing. Each one of its members yielded to move in his love for the D.A.V. College but still there were two parties. The writer was amongst those who were for opening the first year class immediately, but the opposition contained some of the most influential leaders of the movement. After all the poll decided in favour of Lala Sain Das and his party, though by a majority of one only. The victory was simply a godsend, one of chance only, as one of the opposition left the Committee before votes were actually taken. With his vote on the record the proposition would have been thrown by the casting vote of the President who had, including the chance absentee and himself, 13 supporters on his side against 13 on the other.

A Sub-Committee was at once formed and Guru Datta Vidyarthi was one of the Sub-Committee. Be it said to the credit of Lala Lal Chand that, notwithstanding his strong views on the other side, he bowed to the decision of the majority and consented to be on the Sub-Committee formed to give effect to the proposition carried. A special list of monthly subscriptions in aid of the college classes was at once opened and the lead taken by Lala Jwala Sahai with his princely subscription of Rs. 55 a month. Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi also came forward with his mite and subscribed Rs. 10 a month for a year.

At last the college class was opened and Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi

undertook the duty of teaching Science and Mathematics, the latter only for a time till a competent man be found to fill the post of mathematical professorship. Science he continued to teach for several months and the students had every reason to be proud of their professor (the foremost student of science produced by the Punjab), who was at that time officiating Professor of Science in the Government College itself. In the summer of this very year he delivered a series of lectures in the premises of the Lahore Arya Samaj on "Monier Williams[23] and *Indian Wisdom*." A large number of the educated men at Lahore assembled to hear these lectures, which chiefly aimed at showing the so-called oriental scholars of Europe in their true colour. I had not the good fortune of attending these lectures (being about 200 miles away from Lahore); but what I have heard of these lectures from men of position and education enables me to say that the lectures were quite worthy of the Pandit. The *Arya Patrika* of 24th July 1888 contains the following about these lectures:

> Our learned brother Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi, M.A., is conferring a real boon upon the educated community of Lahore in particular and the learned world in general by his lectures on "Monier Williams and *Indian Wisdom*." He had already delivered three of a series of lectures which might extend to as many as twenty or thirty lectures or to a still higher figure. He has hardly finished with the introduction as yet. His lectures are indeed unsurpassed for their clear and lucid treatment of the subject they deal with. The language is most plain, suited to the comprehension of the commonest intellect. What makes the lectures eagerly sought after and appreciated by the people is the method in which they are delivered. Every passage quoted from the *Indian Wisdom* is read twice and slowly, and then analysed into the propositions asserted therein. Each proposition is then most ably refuted with sound arguments, supported and backed up with quotations from the Vedas, the *Upanishads* and other authoritative Aryan Shastras. Those who attend these lectures, cannot fail to be struck with the utterly misleading character of the opinions on Aryan literature, science and arts, with which these books of our *learned* oriental scholar are replete. Each wholesale misrepresentation—deliberate or unintentional—is utterly unworthy of these lights of the West. These lectures, we understand, will be published in a book form. Their publication would be productive of immense good to the Indian society. They will show to the world how far our oriental scholars really know of the subjects on which they pretend to be well-informed.

23. Professor Monier Williams was the author of the book *Indian Wisdom*. He also compiled the *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.

Some dozen lectures were delivered and the Pandit intended them to publish in a book form. Efforts are now being made to print them for sale and the public will not thus be deprived of the chance of judging them for themselves.

In the course of this year he himself studied the *Sama Veda Samhita* and read the science of music as contained therein. On the 12th of October at Peshawar he entertained the large audience assembled to celebrate the seventh anniversary of that Arya Samaj "with the singing of a few *mantras* of the Holy Veda in the most melodious and agreeable manner."

The audience who were under the impression that apparent irregular metre of the Vedic hymns was unsuitable to the soothing melody of music, were taken by surprise by that novel (novel only to the ignorant) mode of chanting the Vedic *mantra*. To add to the enjoyment of the audience Panditji proceeded to explain the *mantras* thus sang. Master Durga Prasad writes (see *Arya Patrika* dated 13th November 1888) "that the reflexive enjoyment of the people assembled knew no bounds. It was like the joy of a miner at the sight of a vein of gold opened in the dark depth of the mine, where he was employed in nothing but turning up earth, in many a long and weary year. It put in shade all the lisping of lectures and the moping of music." Next day the learned Pandit delivered a lecture in Vernacular. The opening text was:

अर्थ कामेष्वसक्तानां धर्म्मज्ञानं विधीयते।
धर्म्मं जिज्ञासमानानां प्रमाणं परमं श्रुतिः।।

The following remarks by Master Durga Prasad are taken from the same number of *Patrika*:

> The society was compared with an ocean with vortices, and pleasures, especially love of wealth and woman acted as so many forces to keep human beings away from the end of their life. Avarice and lust disqualified persons to appreciate the pleasure of virtue. Until persons gave up their worldliness, it was hopeless for them to be fit for the accepting of "dharma". He then described that "dharma" and referred the audience to the Vedas, which revealed the mystery of life. Nothing could be more agreeable to reason, more impressive in oratory, and more instructive to the people than when he took the audience to walk through the garden of scientific theories in search of the mystery of life. He showed how fruitless was the search and how great was the consequent disappointment in expecting a thing from the quarter it was least to be hoped from. He then threw light on the mystery of life by quoting a passage from the Vedas and proved, by expounding it, that a patient and unprejudiced study of the Vedas might gratify the curiosity of reason at the mystery of life. The whole audience

was bewitched and spell-bound at the description of uncommon things. The effect on the mind was edifying, soothing, and tranquillizing. It gave the audience a clear, vivid, and happy idea of the importance and usefulness of virtue or dharma as taught in the transcendental philosophy of the Holy Vedas. I, by the bye, regret my want of scientific knowledge to reproduce or to give the purport of the lecture. Suffice it to say that nothing can be more pacifying and more agreeable to reason.

The next lectures of any importance were those delivered on the occasion of the anniversary of the Lahore Arya Samaj, the one in Urdu on the D.A.V. College and the other in English on "Veda Vidya." I take the following account of these lectures from the *Arya Patrika* of the 4th December 1888:

> The introduction being over, the boys of the D.A.V. Boarding House at once settled themselves in the posture of devotion, and recited *Sandhya*, a performance which could not have gone without leaving a wholesome and salutary impression on the minds of the worldly-minded. The boys also went through a number of Vedic *mantras*, dealing with the nature and character of the Deity and with the duties of man both to his Maker and to his fellow-beings. Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi then got up to deliver his lecture. He said that modern science, whatever its merits, did not throw the least light on the problem of life. It did not afford the slightest clue towards the solution of the grandest and the most difficult question which can agitate the human mind, the origin and the ultimate destiny of mankind. The modern scientist might dissect nerve and bone, subject every drop to a most searching examination under the most powerful microscope he could possibly have but he was as hopelessly lost over this question as ever. He could not undo the mystery of life. He might go on for ages dissecting and experimenting, but he would be none the wiser for it on the question of life. The question could not be solved but by the aid of the Vedas. They alone could unravel that grand mystery, and to them the scientist must ultimately turn. Already there were indications of such a tendency. The Vedas were, and rightly too, regarded as the source, the fountainhead of all science by the ancient Rishis. They entirely gave themselves up to the study of them, reflected and pondered over the truths inculcated therein, and Aryavarta enjoyed a state of prosperity and an amount of happiness, of which we might in vain seek for a parallel in these days. Happiness in this world as well as in the next was the fruit of the study of the Vedas. It was most deplorable that Aryavarta had fallen off from the Vedic faith. It could not but descend to the depths of degradation to which it had descended. It had itself courted its ruin and

richly deserved it. But though gloomy the retrospect, the prospect was all cheering. The same eternal luminary of truth, the Vedas, had reappeared. It had shattered and dispersed the clouds of superstition entirely. The darkness, which so ominously hung over the globe, had been dispelled and the luminary was shining with greater effulgence than ever. This most happy state of things had been brought about by the efforts of Swami Dayanand. It was he who had led us to the light in which the ancient Rishis basked. But though many had seen it and duly appreciated the blessing, the majority, long used to live in darkness, had either doubted it or obstinately refused to be led to it. It was the duty, the imperative duty of all whose souls were no longer enveloped in the gloom of superstition, to cure the sceptic of his scepticism, and the obstinate and the bigoted of their obstinacy and bigotry. This could only be done by assisting the institutions where the coming generations were gradually and imperceptibly being prepared to be ultimately led to it. The lecturer did not name any particular institution, the people knew which institution they ought to assist. The lecturer sat down amidst vociferous cheering. The audience showed their appreciation of his lecture by liberally subscribing to the D.A.V College fund. Some Rs. 14,000 were subscribed out of which about Rs. 4,000 realized on the spot. Out of the remaining Rs. 10,000, Rs. 9,000 were contributed for providing a building for the D.A.V. College and School institutions, and remaining Rs. 1,000 belongs to the College fund. The money was being promised and realized till about quarter to one, when the audience dispersed to take their morning meal.

The audience again assembled at 8 P.M. to hear Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi's lecture in English. He said that modern science, especially as far as chemistry was concerned, was extremely defective, when judged by the different tests of a true science. The methods on which it was pursued, differed widely from those on which the ancients pursued it, and the methods of the ancients, when considered in the light of calm reason, were undoubtedly the only ones on which the structure of science could be raised on a sound basis. The ancient methods were simple, certain and unerring, and hence it was that the researches and conclusions of the ancients are beyond question. To prove his position, he adduced many illustrations from *Surya Sidhanta*, a book written thousands of years ago, and showed that questions, such as the question of creation and so on, which modern science could never satisfactorily solve, were most clearly solved in the pages of that book. The author of that book acknowledged in the most clear language that he had learnt what he was going to write from the *Rishis* and *Munis*, who again had derived their knowledge from the Vedas. The Vedas were the fountainhead of all science and that was not a

mere assertion of his own, but was acknowledged by the most distinguished scientists of the past. But could anybody say as much of the Bible, whose doctrines were remarkable for nothing more than contradicting and going against science? The time was not distant when the Vedas would regain their well-deserved ascendancy over the mind of man, and be its guide and instructor in every department of knowledge, and the books like the Bible would cease to blind and prejudice man any more. The lecture was mostly made up of quotations from the renowned but unbiased scientific men of modern times, who were quoted copiously to show that the lecturer was not indulging in any idle boasts. The learned Pandit finished his remarks by reading a passage from a distinguished American author,[24] who says that every superstition and every superstition-teaching book will soon be consumed in the fire which has begun to burn, the fire of the Veda *Vidya*, through the distinguished reformer Swami Dayanand. Loud and deafening cheers greeted the retreat of the learned Pandit, and the meeting broke up to wait for the next *Utsab*.

I had the good fortune of being present in one of these lectures, the Vernacular one, and can only say that having heard some of the best orators of modern India (Baboo Surendranath Banerjea and Baboo P.C. Mazumdar and others) can confidently and conscientiously assert that Guru Datta Vidyarthi fairly promised in course of time to surpass all of them. It is no exaggeration that the illustrations, not merely verbal illustrations but profuse illustrations from ancient Sanskrit writers which Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi's lectures abounded in, are wanting in the speeches of other gentlemen. They may appeal in the name of ancient celebrities, they may catch a quotation from here and there, they may wax eloquent on theoretical ancient greatness, but the want of proofs and evidences of practical greatness in their lectures does not allow their otherwise highly polished, impressive or effective appeals to be really pathetic. Yes, they fail to make a lasting impression on the minds of their audiences, who feel sensations at the mere names of Patanjali and Veda Vyas. These sensations can only be deeply engraved on the hearts of the nation by men of the stamp of Guru Datta Vidyarthi, whose lectures were not confined to the ordinary commonplace speeches full of quotations from Smiles and Shakespeare. This was the same lecture, upon which our friends of the Sikh community were so much enraged and rather a little unreasonably. I can honestly say that he did not mean to wound the feelings of our friends, nor to make any aspersion upon the character of the pure and noble devotee, who is and shall

24. Andrew Jackson Davis.

ever remain the pride of the Punjab, nay, all India. In the course of impressing the high and fearless sense of truthfulness, which characterised the life and doings of Swami Dayanand, he went a little out of his way and said something about this, that Swami was so bold and fearless in preaching what he considered to be the truth that he was not afraid of any unpleasant consequences arising out of his preachings. I might be mistaken in what I think he said upon the subject, but I can swear on oath that it was only after the lecture was over and I saw certain Sikh gentlemen, quarrelling with others of the Arya Samaj on the subject, that I came to know the interpretation put upon his utterance. It will not be out of place to state here that I am a Sikh Banya on the mother's side and well remember at this distant date the devotion of my grandmother and maternal uncle towards the Sikh Scriptures and the Sikh Gurus and can claim to have inherited a portion of that blood which produced invincible Sikh heroes in the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his predecessors.

I yield to none in the respect and reverence which every Sikh feels towards the Gurus and specially the noblest spiritual devotee who came out in the time of need—one of the darkest epochs of the history of India. Therefore it is incredible that I could have mistaken the sense of the remarks which, if correctly interpreted by others, would have raised a storm of indignation or rather pity in my breast as well. The friction between the Aryas and the Sikhs which led to the publication of the two most abominable books which should never have been allowed to be printed upon the subject of the lives of the two greatest of India's sons was most deplorable. I hope my Sikh brothers, some of whom were once well known for their zeal in the cause of the Arya Samaj, will let the matter be buried with the body of the human being, misinterpretation of whose words (in my opinion at least) caused that most undesirable split. Aryas and Sikhs are embarked on the same man-of-war and let them try for the safety of the planks of common heritage with combined zeal and heart. Descended from the common stock, fighting for the common truth, feeling pride for imbibing spirit from the common names, let us forget our mutual strife, and shortcomings, live for the common cause, and take glory in the success of each. Noble descendants of the prime true noble Githo, noble followers of lofty sentiments, sentiments which combined some of the highest spiritual truths with equally high notions of warriorship, accept this humble tribute from one of your own sheep and let us all—disunited, disorganized, disbanded, ill-advised, forlorn, in a state of confusion, wretched in the extreme, having no knowledge of our united interests, and helpless from the chains of bigotry and intolerance, members of the same flock of sheep—be united for ever striving for one purpose, pressing forward to one and grand and glorious end which is "*happiness*". Then only can we be free from personal misdirection and sufferings, from ignorance and depravity, from pride and sectarian intolerance, and then only

can we reach the portals of the sublime residence of *Akal Purusha*. Brother Aryas and brother Sikhs, let us engrave the above words upon our hearts if we will, because disunited and disorganized we are not even bubbles in the great oceans of Humanity and consequently of no avail.

The reader will, I wish, excuse the above appeal, which was closely bearing upon the subject I was writing upon, and pass to the other events of Guru Datta Vidyarthi's life in 1888. The year closed with several lectures, one being in English on the "future religion" delivered at Jallundher in which he is said to have proved that the "Vedic religion was destined to be the future religion of the world." The year is memorable for the conversion of some of the present . . . *Sannyasi Updeshaks* of the Arya Samaj by Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi, one of whom has since then deserted the standard on account of some honest doubts on matters of faith.

The most conspicuous of these conversions was that of Swami Achyutanand Saraswati—the then celebrated leader of the Vedantis. This gentleman is a learned man having a special proficiency in the *Upanishads*. He was the recognized *Guru* or head of a class of Vedantis and claimed men of learning, position and influence amongst his disciples. Swami Prakashanand had, for some time before, been an Arya in his beliefs and he in a way brought about the meeting of Swami Achyutanand with Guru Datta Vidyarthi. The latter undertook to read the *Upanishads* (the real *Upanishads*) to him with explanations of those passages which are understood to be the main springs of new Vedantism.

At last, the truth won the victory and Swami Achyutanand Saraswati openly declared his conversion to the cause of the Arya Samaj to the great delight of the Aryan public.

Since then the learned Swami has been regularly preaching the religion of the Aryan Scriptures. Swami Mahanand was another and very learned *Sannyasi*, who saw Guru Datta Vidyarthi and embraced the cause of the Arya Samaj. This gentleman is said to possess a vast learning of Sanskrit and well may the Arya Samaj be proud of his gain to its fold.

Swami Swatmanand Saraswati was another sincere and well-intentioned *Sannyasi*, who owed much to Panditji's learning. He lived with the latter for several months and learned Western sciences from him. He read chemistry with Panditji and the latter showed him practical experiments as well. Those who had known the Swami before, say that Guru Datta Vidyarthi's company effected a material change in his ideas, beliefs and abilities much to the advantage of the Swami, and that his knowledge of Sanskrit also gained much by living with Panditji. The result was that the Swami offered his services to the Arya Pritinidhi Sabha of the Punjab and served as a recognized preacher of the Arya Samaj for about a year. His subsequent lectures have, by all who have

had the pleasure of hearing them, been declared to be learned, well-reasoned and lucid expositions of the subjects he discoursed upon. It is a matter of regret that such an unostentatious preacher fell into the false scepticism and severed his connection with the Arya Samaj. The doubts in his mind only arose at that advanced period of Panditji's illness when all communication, whether verbal or written, had been stopped by the orders of his medical advisers, and it is nothing but a misfortune that the learned Swami could not get an opportunity of having his doubts removed by the superior learning and wisdom of Guru Datta Vidyarthi. It was in January 1889 perhaps that he formally severed himself from the Arya Samaj.

For several days of this year, I am told by a reliable witness, all the four revered Swamis remained with him and conversed upon different topics of religion, so the people might have well considered his house to be an *Ashram* in the truest sense of the term, and that many did consider it to be such is a fact. Many a soul did go to that house in search of truth and come back with their minds treasured with the lore of the Vedic religion. All sorts of people, whether *grihasth* (lay men) or *sannyasi* (ascetics) flocked to him to solve the deep problems of human life and to receive light from that resplendent luminary of knowledge. With a brilliant record of valuable services in the cause of Arya Samaj, he did not neglect his own intellectual and spiritual advancement. Amongst others, too numerous to be named, he went through the ten principal *Upanishads*, *Gopath* and *Aitreya Brahman*, portions of *Nirukta*, *Charak* (a medical book), and *Surya Siddhant*. Patanjali's *Mahabhashya* he studied himself with the aid of Swami Dayanand's *Vedant Prakash*, and Swami Dayanand's works were of course his special favourites. Swami's *Satyarth Prakash*, and specially the chapter on *Mukti*, he is said to have read over not less than twelve times or so, and the more and the oftener he read them, the more and the deeper he believed in their celebrated author. Every day his reverence and respect for Swamiji's genius was on an increase, and towards the middle of the year 1889 it reached its climax. Though ever so busy, he never refused to help and teach those who wanted him to do so. It would be quite unbecoming for the duties of a biographer, if I were to omit mentioning the name of the American sage,[25] whose works helped him much, and prepared him for the course he had chalked out for himself. In the last two years of his life, he constantly studied his works and fully believed in his powers as a Yogi. He recommended those books to his friends, but to such only as in his opinion could understand their sense properly, and would not make a laughing stock of the author.

The following of his works, which have been noticed elsewhere, were published as separate pamphlets this year:

25. The reference was probably to Andrew Jackson Davis; see also the preceding footnote.

The Terminology of the Vedas, Part I
Ishopanishad with an English Exposition
Vedic Texts, Numbers 1, 2, 3.

On the first of September this year he left Lahore for Wazirabad in order to go to Dhuni Sahib or Qiladhar in order to see a Sanskrit library; but it does not appear whether he reached Qiladhar or returned from Wazirabad, and if he did go, whether he saw the library, and if so, with what result.

Throughout this year his health annoyed him very much. He writes in his diary:

12th January—Several discharges of blood, very sorry.
14th—Suffering from discharge of blood from the bowels.
22nd—Got very much sick.
1st February—Begins my period of sickness. (This is written perhaps with the voice of intuition.)
12th—Very sick, blood and weakness
In March—Indigestion visits still.

On the 8th of May he again seems to have suffered, but his diary does not indicate it so clearly as the above.

While on the 16th he suffered "from severe nausea" and "two or three drops of blood" flowed "from the nostrils," in his diary of this date he writes, "I have to lecture in the Samaj on "What will the people say?" and am not prepared for the subject which seems of great importance."

It was this indifference to health that destroyed his otherwise well-built physique.

1st October—Copious discharge of blood from bowels
2nd October—Nausea

These are only occasional memoranda, because even his diaries are not regular, and there is almost none subsequent to the 3rd of October 1888, except for a few days of 1889.

Before closing the account of this year, I may note that the year witnessed a split in the ranks of the Arya Samaj on account of the question of the *Upadeshak* Class and the D.A.V. College, and of the subject of flesh eating. The Christians took up another controversy and attacked the doctrine of "Niyoga" as propounded by Swami Dayanand Saraswati in his *Satyarth Prakash*, Chapter IV.

I will take up all these three points so far as they are connected with the subject of this biography in my next chapter.

Chapter VII

Choice of Profession

> "Combine the qualities of a Patriot with a spirit of determination and intrepidity and you have a sublime Hero. And he, too, is a reformer. He rises superior to time-sanctified customs and throws open the gates to new discoveries. His unconquerable spirit inspires timid minds with power; and his daring courage strengthens their efforts in fresh directions."
>
> —*A.J. Davis*

This is a delicate subject so far as this biography is concerned, notwithstanding the importance which is attached to it on account of the perplexity, into which many young aspirants after patriotism are thrown. We know there are many noble souls, who would entirely devote themselves to their country, but for their own stomach as well as that of those whose fates depend upon them. The system, under which we live, in whose glory we have been nourished, and under which a burden of supporting our family is thrown upon our shoulders when yet hardly adult, has proved an insuperable obstacle to many high-spirited minds, who would have gladly and willingly dedicated their lives solely and exclusively to the service of their country and their God. Many a lofty enthusiastic ardent spirit has succumbed to these domestic circumstances and family cares.

Instances are not, however, wanting even in this degraded epoch, (Lala Hans Raj being one), in which men of resolution and true Aryan blood have proved themselves to be above those circumstances and cares, have preferred to respond to the call of duty, and have heard the call of duty to the country in preference to the call of duty to their family. Such men, however, had to struggle for that goal very hard, and their struggles are worthy of record to serve as a beacon light to many a hope-forsaken brother, who may come afterwards. Struggles for service to humanity are noble records worth preserving with great care in every country which has the slightest idea of its future. By the above I do not mean to say that there have not been men who have performed both sorts of duties with great credit and honour to themselves as well as to the blood which they inherited, for example, the late lamented Lala Sain Das, who worked five hours a day for his family and the rest of the time for his country. What I mean to say is, that these family cares have proved a curse, a hindrance, a demon of wretchedness, vanity and sin to many a born patriot and promising reformer and pure utilitarian mind; and therefore a record of the struggle of

those who came out safe and sound from the trial is an invaluable treasure for the good of their fellow men.

The writer of these lines, one of the earliest class fellows and intimate admirers of Panditji, had very many opportunities of talking over the subject with him, as one in which both were personally concerned. It was for years together that Panditji thought over the problem and failed to solve it satisfactorily, his desire being to find a solution which would not bend his conscience, gag his free will, kill all his aspirations for the service of his God and his country, and at the same time provide him with sufficient means so as to enable him and his family to live a decently comfortable life. His past history has shown that he did not belong to rich parents. A Government salary of less than Rs. 60 a month could not enable his father to amass some fortune for his son, for a son who was the most careless in money matters, for a son for whom his parents were always anxious to provide the best of all the things required. His expenditure on books alone was so heavy that one sometimes had to wonder whence he got so much money to procure such high-priced and valuable books. Therefore it is but natural that we find Panditji several times feeling the pinch of pecuniary difficulties and several other times groping in the dark to find out a profession which would satisfy his wants and suit his nature and his curiously sensitive conscience. Law, medicine, engineering, employment in the judicial service and other Government employments, each successively presented themselves to his mind, but he was satisfied with none and had to dismiss each with a decided *no*. Numberless times has the question then arisen what to do and numberless times has it been mercilessly thrown aside to be decided in some lucky moment. The following few extracts from his diary supported by my oral testimony and corroborated by a few letters to my address which I am going to publish herewith, will give the reader an idea, however faint it may be, of the way in which the question troubled Panditji and how often he strove to arrive at a conclusion how to serve his God, his country, his family and himself at one and the same time honestly, conscientiously, consistently and faithfully.

Extracts from his diaries

24th April 1885—A Revolution! why not drain off all feelings and affections and join Mill and Dayanand? Or will affections assert themselves? Do the ends sustain themselves through life or leave an uneasiness at death?

10th December—. . . He says Hindu literature requires pioneers and we can occupy the position of Chaucer.

5th January 1886—In the course of conversation Mr. . . . says "I may get

a name for myself if I get into the habit of writing what investigations I carry there." What a weakness it is not to write notes! I will begin my professional duties again tomorrow.

8th January—Dr. . . . says that an able man can always find employment if he can abide till opportunity. He also said that it was of no use to remain unsettled in life.

9th January—Mr. Oman asks me if I am willing to act as a lecturer in the College.

2nd February—Again the old question brought vividly before my mind, "O you must kill all these passions and survive."

24th February—I have sent an application to the Director for employment. . . .

6th June—The era of difficulty seems to begin. My father is anxious to see me. Nothing with respect to my employment is settled. B.D. asks me to see my father. I want Rs. 100 to present to him. How to manage?

I may here break the chain of these extracts and give a few extracts from the letters addressed to myself and written about this very period in answer to a question put to him by me upon the subject.

> Lahore, 13th January, 1886—My hopes in the prospects, now bright now dark, flicker like a lambent flame. No—no—no—no Rai Bahadur or Khan Bahadur can ever dare lift the veil that overhides the statue of Isis.[26] One must perambulate through the penetralia of the desert for the panacea of life. . . . I am not particularly sorry, nor particularly happy, but in a state which can only be represented as a conflict—an inner conflict, where everything seems dim and hazy. Do not therefore construe my neglect any further than that poor Guru Datta Vidyarthi at war with himself forgets the share of love to other men.
>
> Yours as ever,
> Guru Datta Vidyarthi

Closely following the preceding letter, I received another dated 24th January 1886, extracts from which will speak for themselves and need no comment.

> My dear Lajpat Rai, I was glad, very glad to receive your kind letters. I heartily thank you for the compliments you have paid me, although I

26. An Egyptian goddess of fertility.

do not think I deserve them. To be a leader of opinion in the Punjab, a grand office to be struggled for, but never thought of as realized except in dreams. . . .

My dear Lajpat Rai, I know that up to this time very few who have entered the . . . world of profession, have come out safe from it. I know whilst they were students, they proposed to themselves many schemes and plans for the regeneration of their country, but when they came to deal with the stern realities of the world, the professional world, Mammon or lucre held them fast; their hopes forsook them. Their professional habits rendered them callous and insensible to the rise and fall of their country. It has been so with those who have been taking up law as their profession, so with them who have joined the judicial line, and so with those who have taken to medicine. Even the few who have joined the educational department, have become strongly metamorphosed. Perhaps it is difficult to keep intact the spirit of encountering hardships, which is the one feature of student life, under the more soft influences of a profession, which provides men with *guerarahs* and feathery cushions to rely on. I know once there was a P.R. student more radical than radicalism, more enthusiastic than enthusiasm. He had wooed himself to intellect and to his country; but though faring better than others, the lively spark is gone from him. He may repose as a national yogi. I know there was a B.A. goddess, a god whom Carlyle's Cromwell[27] had fired with zeal. He had wooed to history and courted her. But the world presents a different spectacle; cards and chess will do for books and history; feasts and salaams will do for lectures. I have known another who seemed to have stolen fire like Prometheus[28] from heaven. But this falls into the watery ocean of the world and is soon extinguished. . . .

Aryavarta, thou hast lost the breed of thy noble blood! These, dear Sir, are our precedents; yes, these are the forewarning beacons, that we have to contend with. Can I ask and take to the advice of . . . a . . . or someone else of the same kind? No, that will immerse me deep in sin and crime. Sheo is not yet in the field. He is an eyesore. Poor fellow, what hopes lie in you! Does Providence forsake him when he needs it most? You are there in Hariana, engaged in forming loose balls of sand, under the influence of a law mania. I do not condemn you. I know that circumstances would have it so. Who is not a slave of circumstances? O soul, thou that are struggling to be free, art yet engaged! Yet there is a

27. Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658), a British general and politician, had been highly praised by Carlyle in his lectures and writings.
28. A Greek god who stole fire from the heaven for the mankind.

hope. What can determination do against a host of such adverse circumstances? Yet what can it not?

Hoping to find a way, ever groping in the dark,

Yours ever affectionately,
Guru Datta Vidyarthi

To return to the diary

16th January 1887—I should try for yoga and *be a preacher in life.*

18th January—I see . . . in Lahore. He talks to me about my future. Let me come to a determinate decision.

1st February—I learn that I have been recommended for my post in the College.

9th February—I go to . . . he tells me that when a man is taken in for dharma, he is no more put under trials, but before this he is.

12th February—I have been asked by the Senate to inform them if I am willing to be recommended for the competitive examination for a post of E.A.C.[29] What shall I answer?

Who but Guru Datta Vidyarthi could have in such a moment hesitated to *think what to answer*? Who could have hesitated to accept this uncalled for, unsolicited opportunity of official honours for a life of ease and comfort, for a life of authority over one's fellowmen, for a chance of obtaining the highest honours which the Government of a country could bestow? But his was a soul, who seemed to spurn these considerations with contempt, and to think of the diminution or rather annihilation of the chances of fulfilling the true mission of his life.

29th March 1887— . . . I am now disengaged from College.

20th April 1887—Appointed to officiate for Mr. Oman from 12th of this month.

On the 12th of October 1887, Panditji received a docket from the then Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, calling upon him to see the latter in connection with his nomination roll for the post of Extra Assistant Commissionership, from which it appears that the Senate of the Punjab University did recommend him for admission into the competitive examination of Extra Assistant Commissionership. Let not the future generations, who may perchance read these lines, conclude from above that the examination referred to was a really competitive examination open to all. It was competitive only so far as a few favoured ones recommended by high officials or the Senate of the Punjab

29. Extra Assistant Commissioner.

University, and finally accepted by the Local Government of the Punjab, were allowed to compete for a post, which carried a salary of Rs. 250 rising to Rs. 800 a month. In addition to the scions of noble families and relatives of those who had done eminent services to the Government, very few who had only abilities on their side, were admitted into this so-called competitive examination and sometimes none. Thus even admission to this examination was considered to be a matter of good luck. Panditji did call upon the officer, who had sent for him, and we find the following note in his diary.

15th June 1887—I went to . . . according to his invitation. *Surely one cannot, without injury to himself and the world, transgress the law of his constitution as established by the supernal.*

Thus we find that while kind officials were recommending him for admission into an examination which leads to the highest post in the service of the Government, to which the natives of India are eligible, (because it is so seldom that posts higher than these are given to the natives of India that we prefer to think that they are not meant for them), the subject of the recommendation was expressing sentiments, which unmistakably mean that he considered the Government employment to be a transgression of "the law of his constitution as established by the supernal." Would that all educated Indians imbibe that spirit and catch that lofty idea; for then India's misfortunes will surely vanish as darkness disappears at the rise of the sun!

It will be false vanity and inconsistency on my part if I were to condemn those who either take the law or take to judicial service; because, in the words of Pt. Guru Datta Vidyarthi, circumstances will have it so and who is not a slave of circumstances? While it is by no means certain that their leaving these professions in favour of less able and less honest hands will not injure the country more than the present arrangement is supposed to do, one thing is certain that Pt. Guru Datta Vidyarthi shuddered at the idea of administering laws which his conscience did not allow him to consider equal and just, and all of which he thought were not based on grounds of public good and public utility, or of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." Soon after, he definitely made up his mind not to avail of the favour so considerately shown towards him by the Punjab University and the Government officials and not to enter the judicial service. Nobody can doubt that he had not the slightest chance of failure, if he had only intended to seize the opportunity. But to return to his diary.

24th January 1888—Nothing of note—only much harassed in money matters.

11th May 1888—Read a letter from some Punjabi in Burma. The letter shows similarity of their institutions and customs to ours. *Would not a mission there suit me*? O God, show me the way of being useful to self and the world at large!

Here is an expression of Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi's innermost heart. Though he loved his country well, his love for humanity was not confined to the four walls of his own country. The following quotation from a well-known patriot of Italy will serve to explain his position in this respect. "They who pretend to teach you morality, while limiting your duties to those you owe to, your family and your country, do but teach you a more or less enlarged egotism, tending towards the injury of others and yourself. . . . The family and the fatherland are like two circles drawn within a larger circle, which contains them both; they are two steps of the ladder you have to climb, without them your ascent is impossible, but upon them it is forbidden to rest."

Read the above with the following, dated 11th of the same month. "O God! Inspire your servant with notions that may better our Indian humanity and render them susceptible to holier and more worthy influences."

18th September—I read all day the *Vaisheshika* system of philosophy. I also conceive that I could write short works on the six philosophical schools of Sanskrit. They will be useful in both ways.

The last note upon the subject in his diaries is dated the 22nd January 1889 and runs as follows: "Can I not translate *Satyarth Prakash* or set up a Sanskrit magazine?"

Yes, this was the final resolve, which found expression in the prospectus of the *Vedic Magazine* issued in June 1889, an extract from which, speaking of the objects with which the *Magazine* was started, the reader will find in the chapter upon the *Terminology of the Vedas*. It was the hard study, which he considered to be necessary for the proper performance of the duty involved in this determination, that took him away and that helped the development of the fatal disease, which resulted in the inopportune and unfortunate change of his soul's sphere of activity. Alas! How cruel is death!

Chapter VIII

The Last Year of Panditji's Life

This remaining period of our hero's life witnessed plenty of agitations and counter-agitations in the Arya Samaj on questions of vital importance to the Samaj itself as well as to the community at large. An extraordinary enthusiasm and heat was noticed in almost all the important meetings of the Arya Samajists, whether in connection with the now officially eulogized D.A.V. College or in connection with the general interests of the Samaj. To begin with the former, great difference of opinion existed upon the matter of the place to be given to classical Sanskrit in the curriculum of studies both in the School and the College Department of the Institution. One section of the Samaj, and a by no means unimportant section, believed that the Institution was going astray, and that the objects of its establishment were being frustrated. They went to the length of asserting or at least alluding that the managers and the trustees of the Institution were rather guilty of the serious crime of breach of trust and required a reprimand. The hottest dignitaries of this over-zealous party (though small in number) were understood to be anxious to throw off the present constitution and effect a revolution, though without the means of giving it a better one. Poor Guru Datta Vidyarthi was believed to be the recognized head of this party, and the less sober gentlemen of the other side were always ready to throw the whole blame upon him. His characteristic open-mindedness, his well-known bold denunciation of everything having the least connection with policy, the moral courage of his tone, the simplicity of his habits and opinions were taken advantage of, and his name and talents connected with some of the most foolish assertions of the above-mentioned section. I have had several opportunities of talking over the matter with him, and he opened his mind to me. He argued and with a great show of reason that the D.A.V. College had not been established to swell the number of University graduates, lawyers, and men whose prosperity in life practically meant the ruin of the country, the deterioration of the spiritual side of men, and consequently the inharmonious and unrighteous development of a class, whose interests required the constant disunion of the race. "It was not," he continued, "with the object of supplying clerks, judicial officers, engineers, or other lower strata of the machinery of the Government that the D.A.V. College was founded." He said that we were morally bound to stick to the sentiments so frequently expressed in appeals made for funds in aid of the Institution, and that it was only necessary that the real object of the Institution should never be lost sight of, and that popularity should not be gained at the cost of principles and by the neglect of classical Sanskrit. He knew of no make-

shifts and came straight to the point that the time had come when more care should be taken of classical Sanskrit though at the cost of English education. He believed that a proper study of the Vedas and Vedic literature only could again organize the present disorganized and much abused Hindu society, and that therefore real patriotism consists in helping to create men who would preach Vedic doctrine and thus enable the society once more to justify the high mission of the man of earth. He, in fact, did not like the idea of our reform proceeding on the ideal of European society. He recognized no ideals but those of ancient India as sanctioned by the Vedas, and hence it was that certain men took him to be revelling in utopia. The indifference at first displayed to his utterances by the other side and the importance given by them to the knowledge of English literature and Western sciences paved the way to Panditji's sometimes disclaiming English education *in toto*. But his real position was what has been described above. How could he totally disclaim English education, when he was himself conscious of great good it had done him? How could he mean to stop education in Western sciences, when his proficiency in the latter had so greatly helped him in his learned expositions of Sanskrit works? What he fought for was a system of education with a prominent place to classical Sanskrit, and this he wanted to mould on the lines suggested by Swami Dayanand himself. Latterly, the necessity and want of learned missionaries who should receive their education upon the system of Swami Dayanand to be totally disaffected by the polluted air of modern scheme of Sanskrit studies, had made him say that the supply of such a want was one of the professed functions of the D.A.V. College and its making no provisions for it was unjustifiable. Such in brief was his opinion upon the great question of the system of education that should be followed in the D.A.V. College, which has been agitating the Aryan mind for the last eight years. Every sincere Arya, be he of any opinion whatsoever upon this matter, should sincerely regret the folly that was committed by some men of the other side in ascribing other but the best of motives to Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi. However premature and, in some minute details, unpractical his opinions may be, nobody dare deny the totally disinterestedness of the man. Thus really it was not Panditji or Panditji's scheme that produced the friction, but reckless misrepresentation and ungenerous misapprehension of each other that created it. Carelessly and thoughtlessly spoken words of familiar talk were eagerly caught hold of and transmitted as specimens of each other's faith. Even at the risk of offending the both, I must say that it looked quite un-Aryanly on both parts to exaggerate and give colour to each other's motives, and that at one time the danger became grave. The gentlemen, who brought about divisions (I mean by mischievous misrepresentation), should be ashamed of belonging to a Society, which teaches that "*sab se priti purvak dharmanusar yatha yogya bartna chahiye*," which means that everybody should be treated with due love

consistent with the dictates of religion. It is only just to say that the leaders on the other side objected to a sudden radical change in the curriculum of studies, disapproved of the proposal of opening a purely Sanskrit class in connection therewith and strongly deprecated the idea of making any departure from the joint objects of the Institution, as set forth in Rule III of the Rules of the D.A.V. College Society. The real difference amongst both was, in fact, a difference of opinions about the time and means of introducing what Panditji wanted to be introduced at once. At last, wise counsels prevailed and harmony has been restored by giving effect to some of the proposals of Panditji, though in a modified form and postponing the others to some future time.

Whatever others may think, I am of opinion that the introduction of the teaching of Panini's *Ashtadhyayi* in the middle classes of the D.A.V. College was an important victory for the cause of classical Sanskrit, and for that we shall ever be grateful to the persistent efforts of Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi and some others.[30] It is destined to mark an epoch in the history of this unique institution, as the latter itself cuts a special figure in the educational destiny of India. Some more concessions have already been made, and the day is not very far distant when the holy Vedas shall be taught along with Western knowledge and Western sciences. The institution is hardly an infant of five years yet. The truth that "Slow but steady progress is always sure and safe," should never be lost sight of. It is "harmonious development," which is our goal. The ground which we have to cross in order to reach that goal, is very slippery and the more cautious we are in treading it, the more sure we will be of reaching it in the end. "Learn to labour and to wait," is a golden rule worth inscribing on our hearts.

The other question was that of the righteousness or unrighteousness of "flesh-eating." Some predict an ominous future for it and apprehend lest it may cause the shipwreck of the Arya Samaj. Panditji's views upon the subject were clearly unambiguous.[31] He believed that flesh-eating was not only not allowed by the Vedas but strictly forbidden, and as such a sin. His view is supported by the latest utterances of Swami Dayanand Saraswati, and as such is the view of a great majority of the members of the Arya Samaj. Those of the other side, who defend it on physical grounds, have up to this time failed to

30. The "Report of the Special Sub-Committee set up for considering the proposal of introducing *Ashtadhyayi* in the school classes" written by Guru Datta Vidyarthi on 27 July 1889 was included by Lajpat Rai in the appendix to the book which has not been reproduced in this volume.

31. An article written by Guru Datta Vidyarthi on the subject was published in *The Arya* of August 1882 (pp. 131-4) under the heading "Righteousness and Unrighteousness of Flesh-Eating".

adduce a single Vedic *mantra* in their support. I had a talk upon the matter with one who is commonly believed to be the head of those Aryas who defend flesh-eating (though they are very few in number), but to do justice to him, I make it known that his position is not that flesh-eating is an act of righteousness and should be indulged in, but that it is not a sin. What I understood from several conversations which I had with him upon the matter, was that as it is prescribed in the standard medical books of Hindus, even in *Sushrut* and *Charak*, it cannot be accepted to be forbidden by the Vedas. He expressed his total inability to quote an authority from the Vedas themselves, as he said he had not read them. In September 1889, Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi was busy in collecting materials for writing a paper upon the subject, and but for the cruel hand of death we would have been in possession of an authoritative exposition of the subject by him. In one place in his diaries I have found a memorandum of some authorities upon the subject collected by him and I hereby publish the same in the supplement for the benefit of those who might expand them for the use of the general public.[32]

The 3rd controversy referred to in the previous chapter, with which Panditji had to deal, related to the doctrine of *niyoga*. The Christians attacked it vehemently and poured all sorts of abuse upon Swami Dayanand. The retort was no less severe. But all the arguments and vilifying of the Reverend padres were of no avail before the clear and high-spirited sense of the *niyoga* as explained by Guru Datta Vidyarthi.

To turn to the other important events of the year. It opened with a crusade by the Mahamandalists, also called Bharat Dharm Mahamandal, a society of orthodox Hindus supporting idolatry. The Lahore Arya Samaj gave a right royal welcome to the Mahamandal, and notwithstanding many and varied passages at arms that ensued between these two hostile parties, the result was satisfactory, rather highly satisfactory. Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi played an important part in these discussions and gave several lectures and counter-lectures in connection therewith. The *Arya Patrika* of the 26th February 1889 hopes a long career for the Mahamandal and welcomes its existence. The same article tells us that the crusade brought about 50 new members to the Arya Samaj of Lahore.

On the 23rd of this month, i.e. February 1889, he delivered a lecture on "Brahmacharya and Education" in the anniversary meeting of the Gujranwala Arya Samaj. Suffice it to say that the lecture was "characteristic of him."

Again in May, Lahore was enlightened by the attacks of Sadhu Keshwanand of the Dharm Mahamandal, who tried to prove impossibilities by maintaining

32. Not reproduced.

that Vedic terms were not *Yaugika* but *Rurhi*.[33] This was disproved by Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi in an excellent lecture, which made a deep impression upon the Lahore public. Shortly after, the Lahore Dharm Sabha challenged him to speak in Sanskrit, and he astonished a large audience by giving an extempore lecture in Sanskrit, which lasted for more than an hour and disclosed a profundity of scholarship and an extensive information of the *Shastras*.

In these very days the untiring spirit of the Pandit was engaged in organizing a movement for the opening of an *Upadeshak* class, and the present *Upadeshak* Class Fund owes its existence to those same sacred hands. A special "Vedic Class Provisional Committee" was formed and Sadhu Ramanand deputed to move about for the collection of subscriptions.[34] Another most laborious and onerous duty was undertaken by Panditji in the form of opening a *Mahabhashya* class for the teaching of *Ashtadhyayi*; great hopes were entertained of the success of this class, which contained some of the most promising young men of the Arya Samaj. In the month of May the prospectus of the *Vedic Magazine* was issued and on the 1st of June the first number of the *Magazine* was out. I shall have to speak of this *Magazine* hereafter and therefore shall not say anything about it here.

In April 1889 Panditji was relieved of his Professorship of the Government College, Lahore, by Mr. Oman, and as soon as he was again free, he resolved to live a really literary life. A friend informs us that he seriously contemplated retiring from active life and leading a life of *vanprastha*, but that his family stood in the way of his doing so, and in the last resort he decided for a life of letters. It was hard work and incessant toil undertaken by him for the readers of his *Vedic Magazine* that destroyed his health and worked out consumption. For his *Vedic Magazine* he went through almost all the works of Professor Max Muller, *Nyaya*, *Mimansa*, *Vaisheshika* and *Yoga* out of Aryan philosophies, *Nirukta* and Swami Dayanand's *Bhashya* on the Vedas, *Mahabhashya* by Patanjali, *Manu Smriti*, and a host of other books, too numerous to be mentioned here. The 2nd No. of his *Magazine* left no doubt of his success in the difficult work he had undertaken. In July he complained of "something like electricity going out of him," in the beginning of August he caught cold. This cold was soon followed by cough and fever, and thus these three kept possession of Panditji till about the first quarter of September, when he resolved to leave for hills. It was by a chance that I went to Lahore the very day but one he was

33. According to Guru Datta Vidyarthi, a *yaugika* word is one that has a derivative meaning and is purely connotative, whereas a *rurhi* word is one that indicates a definite concrete object, "not by virtue of any of its connotations but by virtue merely of an arbitrary principle."
34. Sadhu Ramanand also got an appeal signed by Guru Datta Vidyarthi and his associates for contributing subscriptions for running an *Upadeshak* class at Lahore.

thinking of leaving for Murree. He persuaded me to accompany him to Murree, and we both started. The next day we reached Murree. The hospitality of Sirdar Umrao Singh Majithia provided us with almost every comfort required in a hill station like Murree. I remained there for a week, during which time we often enjoyed long walks, but I noticed that Panditji's strength was gone. Often he was feverish, and that cruel cold referred to above never left him. Here he used to read *Manu Smriti*, *Sushrut* and *Charak*. From Murree he went to Peshawar and joined in the anniversary meeting of that Samaj, where he delivered a lecture upon the Vedas. He stopped there for five days even after the anniversary and gave two or three more lectures on the subject of the transmigration of souls. From Peshawar he came straight to Lahore and was prostrated on his sickbed never to leave it again.

In November on the occasion of the anniversary of the Lahore Arya Samaj, I saw him and was glad to find that his case was not considered hopeless. His love for the D.A.V. College can be better judged from the fact of his having left his deathbed to attend the meeting of the Managing Committee held on that occasion. Who knew that that skeleton of man had simply come to leave an everlasting impression of heroism and sacrifice on the minds of those who saw him there. Soon after this, Panditji at the earnest request of his friends went to Gujranwala, where he was put under the treatment of Dr. Fateh Chund. I take this opportunity of publicly thanking the learned Doctor for the earnest attention he paid to the case of Panditji, and it was here when Dr. Fateh Chund's treatment failed, that hopes of his recovery began to dwindle. His sickness elicited general sympathy and his friends and admirers spared no means or money for him. I do not mean to give them any praise for it, because they did their duty only. In the beginning of January 1890, he was again removed to Lahore and accommodated in a special bungalow, hired for the purpose, where he was treated by our well-known physician late Pandit Narain Das of Lahore. Several well-known native physicians came from different places and some of them tried their medicines but without avail. His family having arrived at Lahore, he was again removed to his old residence in the city, where the treatment of Pandit Narain Das continued for some time. Every physician's treatment having failed, his friends searched for a competent physician in the Muffusil and at last hit upon a certain Hakim Sher Ali of Jallundher. His treatment worked out wonders and in almost a week Panditji's complete recovery became a matter of days. But no! it was a mere delusion! Panditji had a relapse from which he never recovered. During the whole course of his illness, Panditji displayed extraordinary powers of suffering and never uttered a sigh. Often did he hear *Upanishads* recited to him, and even on the night of his death the *Ishopanishad* was read to him by his dear old friend Pandit Remal Das. The major portion of that night he kept himself engaged in meditation and the contemplation of the

supernal soul. His uncle sang *Bhajans* for him and the well-known *Shanti Sarovar Bhajan* was sung that night. He himself kept reciting Vedic *Mantras* and did not lose the composure of his mind up to the very moment of his demise. He died almost in seconds. Thus after having suffered a great deal, he breathed his last at 7 A.M. on the 19th of March 1890. Immeasurable was the grief of the citizens of Lahore on hearing the news of his death, and universal was the sorrow felt for his loss. The news created quite a sensation throughout the length and breadth of the province. The reader can form his own judgment from the following quotations, which are selected out of a vast number of obituary notices published by the different papers both in English and Vernacular, giving expressions with one voice to the calamity that had befallen the country.

The *Arya Patrika* of the 25th March 1890 appeared in mourning with a leader from which I take the following:[35]

> A man, an uncommon man, a man of extraordinary parts, a true, deep and profound Sanskrit scholar,—a true descendant of the ancient *Rishis*,—has passed away. Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi, the pride and ornament of the Arya Samaj, the pride and ornament of his country, the pride of all who value truth and knowledge for their own sake, is no more among us. Yes, that noble soul is no more in the flesh. We miss him all, young and old, aye, we cannot yet believe the stern fact that he has left us. The very magnitude and the uncommon character of our loss help to keep up the impression that he is yet with us. Oh, when shall we see the like of him again! When shall we see one so learned and intelligent, so morally and intellectually eminent, so patient and forbearing, and withal so keenly sensible of every phase of superstition! When shall we see again a man who is pervaded and permeated to the most remotest fibre of his soul with a desire to disseminate the light of truth,—the eternal principles of the Vedic religion,—with a desire to usher the world once more into the presence of the Most High, through His Word and through those who have known and understand His word! Oh, Guru Datta Vidyarthi, thine loss at this hour is irreparable, in thine own particular sphere thou leavest behind not one man who can take up and do the work that thou wouldst have done!
>
> Thine, O young man, was a soul truly noble, and thine short career was dazzlingly brilliant, though thou were unconscious of it. And truly and justly so, because thine aims were high and lofty, thou looked to Gautama, Patanjali, Vyas, Yajnavalkya and Swami Dayanand as thy

35. It appeared in the *Arya Patrika* under the title "Our Loss".

models, and thou wast ever pleased in their company and in their guidance of thee! So noble and so promising, and yet to be cut off so early! What hopes had we of thee, and what wouldst thou not have achieved in the cause of truth, if it had pleased the Great Disposer of all things to let thee live longer! But His Will be done! That thine soul is happier infinitely by far now, that it is free from the bonds of flesh, may be true, but for all that we cannot but wish that thou hadst lived longer amongst us! And yet we may not repine, for if it is thine to be born once more before the soul reposes in the bosom of the Most High for years countless, thou shalt surely come to us, with thine powers a hundred-fold magnified to advance the cause of truth!

Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi took leave of us on the morning of the 19th instant at about half-past seven. He died of consumption, the terrible disease, which is becoming so common in this country. But if the Pandit's career as long as he was blessed with strength was environed by a halo of moral grandeur and religious fervour, and was worth our study and imitation, its closing scene was well becoming so noble a soul. During the entire period of some six months, during which he was confined to his bed, he was ever calm, serene and unmoved in the midst of his sufferings. Not all his tortures could wring from his heroic soul the slightest expression of inward pain—during the fiercest onslaughts of the racing fever which had, as it were, become a part and parcel of his body, he was as dignified and resigned, as in the hours and intervals of temporary relief. Yes, he knew how to suffer like a true Aryan that he was. He knew how to be resigned to the Will of his great Master and Maker, the more so as he had seen the *Rishily* conduct of Dayanand in his last moments, over which he was wont to so rapturously and reverentially dwell whenever he found an opportunity. Who would not covet to be in death and suffering as thou wast, Guru Datta Vidyarthi!

The moment the noble soul had quitted the mortal coil, the sad news, that our dear brother was gone to his Great Father, was known in every quarter and street of the town, where an Aryan lived, and in a couple of hours it had travelled like wildfire all over the city. The D.A.V. College was closed for the day. Notwithstanding that it was not a Sunday, or any other holiday, some five or six hundred men had gathered before the house of our departed brother before it was nine, all sad and gloomy—some dumbfounded and lost in thought at the greatness of the loss, some weeping the tears of bitterness in silence, while others talking on the accomplishments, many and great, of the noble young man. Oh! who could hear unmoved the heart-rending cries of his aged mother? Of all her sons, Guru Datta Vidyarthi alone had been spared to her, and he was her last

child, the child that she had obtained in her declining years! The depth of a mother's love is unfathomable, but her love for a child she has obtained in her advanced years, especially when he is the honoured of the honoured, is still deeper and diviner! Oh! mother—yes, thou art to us more than that, thou who gavest birth to a noble child like Guru Datta Vidyarthi,—thine has indeed been a loss whose value no one can realize and feel but a mother! But rest assured that thy son is not lost, he is happy in the bosom of his Creator, or if it is for him to return to the world once again to be entitled to his bliss interminable, he will be a veritable *Rishi*, who will be the saviour of millions.

At about ten preparations began to be made for conveying the body to the burning ground. A good many men in the gathering started the proposal that the deceased might be photographed in his death-slumber, urging that a photograph taken at this time would be pregnant with an invaluable lesson to all, as showing that all human greatness has an ending and that God and His greatness alone are for ever and ever! This proposal was objected to on many important considerations. The proposers again urged that the entire gathering, and the body, while wrapped in flame, might at least be photographed. This, though not objected to, was declared as fruitless, for a photo of the deceased already existed, and those who were really anxious to derive a lesson from the fate of the young man could do so by a contemplation of the facts of his life. The procession started at about half past ten. The crowd had now swelled up to about seven hundred men. It passed through the Shah Almi Bazaar and kept increasing with its progress. The shops on both sides of the Bazaar were lined with men, who, while admiring the appropriateness of the *bhajans* and Veda *Mantras* sung and recited by the Samaj *Bhajanmandali* and the boys of the D.A.V. Boarding House, expressed sincere and genuine regret that so able a man, so great a Sanskrit scholar, should have been cut off at the age of twenty-five! Flowers were profusely rained on the bier from the housetops throughout the Bazaar. When after full two hours, after necessary halts, the bier emerged into the open plain, the procession numbered at least one thousand men. It was far past twelve, very nearly it was one, when the body was deposited in the cremation ground. After the *Vedi* had been prepared according to stated rules and the pyre made, the body was cremated in strict accordance with the letter of the law. The *Samagri—ghee* and all burnt with the body—was worth about sixty rupees. After the body had been fairly consumed, a short prayer suited to the occasion was offered up by Lala Hans Raj, and then the people left the burning ground with the view to bathe and to return to their homes.

The Tribune of the 19th March 1890, while announcing Guru Datta Vidyarthi's death, remarked that "the cruel hand of death has snatched away another of the Punjab's most promising sons." Again, in its issue of the 22nd, it produced a lengthy note, from which I cull the following:

> We had the melancholy task of announcing in our last issue the sad death of Guru Datta Vidyarthi, M.A., which took place on the morning of the 19th March last. His death has evoked universal regret in the Punjab, for his was a life of splendid promise. To the Arya Samaj, of which he was a shining star, his loss is irreparable, and to the country in general his loss is a great, a very great one.
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> After giving a few facts of his life, the note continues to say,
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> With his intellectual powers he could easily have entered any line and distinguished himself there, but he preferred the quiet of his study to the din and noise of the outside world and devoted himself with all his might to the study of classical Sanskrit, wherein he was making wonderful progress when it pleased God to take him away. He was a man of vast energies; in fact, his fiery energies consumed him and shattered his constitution. He did not know what it was to rest. Studying hard 8 or 10 hours at a stretch, teaching a Sanskrit class in the evening, which he had opened in his house, and sitting up far in the night discussing knotty doctrinal questions with the people who used to flock to him, all this was sufficient to wear out even his iron constitution. And this was not all. He was the most eloquent and effective Punjabi speaker, both in English and Hindi, and his services in this direction were constantly required by the Arya Samaj. Hardly a month passed without his having to make an elaborate speech, over every sentence of which the members of the Samaj fondly dwelt for months afterwards. The success of the D.A.V. College movement is not a little due to his stirring appeals. His power of imagination was great, his intellect was comprehensive, and he was also the most practicable of men. In debate he had few equals in this part of the country His powers and faculties were symmetrically developed, there was no undue leaning on this side or that. His character was specklessly pure and his mode of life simple even to austerity. His ever smiling face, every feature of which beamed with intelligence, was a correct index of his sympathetic and guileless heart. He never took any very active part in the government of the Samaj, with which he was connected, but he wielded a unique influence over it, for he was ever forgetful of self. His self-abnegation was the secret

hold he obtained over the hearts of all who came into contact with him. The universal wail of lament that went up when it was known that Guru Datta Vidyarthi was no more, testified to the great place he occupied in the hearts of his fellow countrymen. He never thought of self, but worked devotedly for the cause of the Arya Samaj, which he believed to be the cause of India, with all his heart and soul and strength. His last days were worthy of him. He was prostrated on his bed of sickness for over three months, and the last few days were days of protracted agony. In consumption every breath is a stab, but his endurance was uncommon and he never allowed a sigh to escape him, and he had hardly been 26 summers when the relentless hand of death removed him from his sphere of usefulness.

The *True Light*, a Christian paper, edited by Rev. Allnut, M.A., Principal of the Delhi Mission College, and Rev. J.C.R. Ewing, D. D., Principal of the Lahore Mission College, had the following upon Panditji's death:

Guru Datta Vidyarthi, M.A., the leading member of the Lahore Arya Samaj, has passed away after a protracted illness. His death has been deeply regretted as a public loss. He was a public spirited man, and greatly interested in the progress of his fellow countrymen. He was for some time connected with the Government College as Assistant Professor of Physics, and later with the D.A.V. College, in the founding of which he took a prominent part. He was a most laborious, earnest student, and exceptionally well-informed on the questions of the day. He had some reputation, too, as a Sanskrit scholar. An edition of the *Shama Veda Samhita*, *Prashastapada Bhashya*, and translations of some of the *Upanishads* are some of the results of his labour.

His general manner, amiable disposition and upright life endeared him to very many. While we could not agree with him in all his opinions, yet we admired him for the honesty of his convictions, and the courage with which he advocated them in the face of opposition.

The Civil and Military Gazette of Lahore also noticed Panditji's death in the following words:

Guru Datta Vidyarthi, M.A., who was for some time Professor of Science in the Government College, died at Lahore on the 19th instant. The deceased was a noted Sanskrit scholar and an ardent reformer. He was also a zealous member of the Arya Samaj, and had, a short time ago, commenced publishing a series of *Vedic Magazines* which contained

excellent commentaries on the Vedas. The deceased was highly respected by all communities, and was believed to be the only Sanskrit scholar which the Punjab University has produced up to this time. His loss was greatly felt by the native community at large, and all public schools and colleges were closed on the day of his death. His funeral was attended by over 1,000 people, who sang hymns and recited *mantras* from the Vedas as the bier passed through the streets of Lahore on its way to the burning ground. On 22nd instant a large number of people assembled at the Arya Temple to hear lectures delivered by his friends touching his death, and a subscription was opened at Bagwanpura to commemorate the deceased by founding a girls' school there after his name.

Almost every vernacular paper noticed the death in pathetic terms and most of them devoted leaders to it.

I take the opportunity of thanking those men who thus honoured the departed Punjabi soul by closing their schools and colleges. Our particular thanks are due to those large-hearted Englishmen who allowed the officials of their respective offices to attend his funeral and thus pay the last tribute of honour to their deceased patriot. For many days after this, telegrams of condolence and accounts of meetings held in his honour, continued to pour in and the want of space is my only excuse for not noticing them in detail. Soon after this a general consensus of opinion was found to exist in favour of a Memorial Fund being raised for the support of Panditji's relatives and for the education of his children. The original proposal limited the nucleus of this fund to Rs. 6,000; but I am glad to announce that in the course of a few months the funds raised amounted to more than Rs. 6,000. A Guru Datta Vidyarthi Girl School and a Guru Datta Vidyarthi Boy School were respectively started at Bagwanpura and Dharmsala in the memory of the deceased. Thus ended a life, which gave such brilliant promises of a great career, leaving mother India weeping over her forlorn state. Peace be to the great soul who knew no rest while here!!!

He has left behind an aged mother, a young widow, and two infant sons.

Chapter IX

His Habits and Manners

> "They say best men are moulded out of faults. And the most become much more the better for being a little bad."—*Shakespeare*

Much of what is contained in this chapter is based upon personal experience, corroborated and confirmed by the entries in the diaries and the testimony of other friends.

I can say, I think, without the slightest chance of contradiction that Guru Datta Vidyarthi was very irregular in his habits. He was, in fact, regular in almost nothing, not in sleeping, not in reading, not in exercise, not in writing, not in playing, not in rising. Irregularity was the bane his life. Capability of doing everything that a man can do was the keystone of his success, and irregularity in doing everything he undertook was the cause of his early demise. If he took to sleeping, he went on sleeping for 24 hours or for days together, rising to take his meal and again sleeping; if he took to reading, he did not sleep for nights and nights; if he went out to walk, he sometimes went for miles and miles together quite unconscious of the distance he was treading, but if he did not like to stir, he did not stir for days and days together except on business, for example to and from College.

There is no reckoning of entries in his diaries, in which he seriously complains of, and condemns, his irregularity in sleeping, rising, reading, exercising and in what not. I am at a loss which of them to select and copy, and therefore prefer not to give any.

In his food he was careful on two or three points only: (1) in avoiding the use of wine, (2) in the total abstinence from flesh, and (3) in eating the different vegetables or dishes that might be placed before him in successive order.

Another friend of his who lived with him for several years, says that once he had nothing to eat for a whole period of two months but milk and biscuits, and this in those days when he was a professor in the Government College, because he had left his servant with his father, who was ill at Multan and could not engage another.

The use of alcoholic liquors or any other stimulating drink, he detested, and the writer, notwithstanding the strong intimacy between them, never had the slightest suspicion even of his using liquor as a drink.

As to his dress, which used to be very simple, he was quite indifferent as to what it should consist of. His was the idea of dressing from necessity, and not for the sake of decoration or luxury. Everybody knows that he was rather

peculiar in the stuff and quality of his dress. In the winter season of Lahore, for several years he used to have his dress of ordinary linen, consisting of a shirt, a waistcoat, a coat and a low cap. For his bedding, he used to have one carpet, by no means thick, of ordinary Multan make and one single sheet of fine shawl. Nobody should be disposed to consider this an exaggerated statement, because this is what the writer saw for several years with his own eyes—between 1880 and the beginning of 1886. Once or twice when I had the opportunity of sleeping with him, I had to wake the whole night on account of his not possessing blankets or anything of that sort, while he, on the other hand, slept a sound sleep and did not show any sign of having felt cold. On the other hand, in the months of summer under the burning sun of Lahore at mid-day, he used to put on coats and waistcoats of warm *kashmira* and blankets suitable for night use. Later on, in the last two or three years of his life, he had left this rigid discipline apparently on account of his constitution having been worn out by constant trials and incessant hardworking.

Sometimes he used to be so careless of his dress as to continue wearing dirty and unclean clothes. He was no follower of any particular fashion, because, as I have already remarked, he never dressed with any fancy. Soon after he came to Lahore, he had adopted pantaloons in place of trousers, because he considered that the former kept a man more active and steady than the latter. He was no believer in nationality, in dress, and was perfectly radical in allowing everybody to choose his own dress. The only restriction he liked to enforce was that no person's dress should be gaudy or anything but simple. He used to say that society had no right to exact a particular fashion of dress from us as long as our dress was clean and decent. Some believe that he stuck to this half-English dress as an expression of his radicalism in the matter of dress. It is questionable whether his notions in this matter were quite correct and all that could be desired. Sometimes he was very fantastically dressed, for example, putting on his university gown as an ordinary article of dress.

Next after the stage of thin bedding and thin cover, he for some time restricted himself to one English-made blanket, in which he wrapped himself and slept. While travelling, he kept his blanket with him, whether the season was hot or cold.

He was so simple and unostentatious in his habits that once for two months, when he had no servant, he used to wash his clothes with his own hands every day.

I should hasten to explain, lest somebody reading these lines may consider him to have been a miser, that he was nothing of that sort. In fact, money he considered to be simply a means of exchange, and therefore never for a moment had the slightest idea of amassing it. He was one of those who considered the amassing or accumulating of wealth, except for public purposes, to be a sin.

He used to spend every farthing of what he got. Whenever he gave money to any friend or other person or students in need (which he did, on several occasions, i.e. whenever he possessed it and somebody asked for it), he never understood it to have been given as a loan and never took the least trouble about its repayment or return.

Accounts he never kept. Servants he never had but one, and luxuries (intellectual luxuries of course excepted) of any kind whatever he never indulged in; but notwithstanding that, he was never stingy. On the other hand, he was a generous man. Several times did he support and pay the expenses of poor students out of his limited means.

His being appointed a professor never made the slightest difference in the way of his living, not even in the matter of a house, because in his last moments he lived in the same house that he lived in when he was a student in the M.A. class. The major portion of his money he spent in the purchase of books which, excepting a few, after reading once he never took care to keep. His set of Andrew Jackson Davis's works with his Sanskrit books, he however preserved with some care. If he ever took a loan he took from a select few of his most intimate friends and never failed to return it. He was of a most amiable and affectionate disposition and always pleasant in manners. Subordinates and pupils he loved with almost fraternal care and with the latter he chatted and played for hours and hours together with childish simplicity. For his students he never had a harsh word.

He was never proud of the eminent position he occupied in the community which had the honour of claiming him, nor was he ever haughty in temper and tone.

He was very loath to observe the rules of formal etiquette and several times on the occasion of his visits to N.W.P. Samajes he may have been considered a little rude in his manners.

He was very fond of physical exercises and was sufficiently expert in gymnastics. He was so smart in walking and running that many a time did he beat well-known fast walkers and runners. While a student of the Government College, he was one of the first eleven in cricket. He was very particular in taking baths and most of the year (winter included) took two cold baths every day.

Chapter X

Panditji's Writings

> "To fathom ancient India all knowledge acquired in Europe avails naught; the study must recommence as the child learns to read, and the harvest is too distant for lukewarm energies."—*M.L. Jacolliot*

While yet a student, Guru Datta Vidyarthi had made up his mind to devote his life to the cause of humanity, which in his opinion could best be served by awakening the world "to the sublime and elevating sense of the Vedas." In discussing the best way of regenerating this downfallen India, he often expressed his total disbelief in the several remedies, which are so confidently suggested by the education received from the materialistic West.

"Society at present," says he, "needs to be educated in the principles of true reform, which consists, not in pandering to or reflecting the popular sentiment or in adapting ourselves to the prevailing modes of thought and feeling, *but in educating the world out of its multifarious errors and unrighteousness*." To his initiated view, the question of India's reform was a question of education—"an education which might teach the people the beneficent principles of peaceful progress and dispel the ignorance of party spirit and sectarianism—an education which might teach the people to live for others, to live without concealment, animated by the principle of love, standing on the basis of order and looking towards progress as the end—an education which might inculcate that life is a mission, duty therefore its highest law", and that "in the comprehension of that mission and fulfilment of that duty lie our means of future progress, *the secret of the stage of existence into which we shall be initiated at the conclusion of this earthly stage*"—"an education which might impart that the aim of life is one—to develop and bring into action all the faculties which constitute and lie dormant in human nature and humanity and cause them harmoniously to combine for the discovery and application of that law"—"*Sansar ka upkar karna is samaj ka mukh uddesh hai, arthat samajic sharirik aur atmik unnati karna*" is one of the fundamental principles of the Arya Samaj.[36]

He did not believe in a system of education which can only produce the present class of lawyers, magistrates, physicians, capitalists, doctors, &c., that swarm in our country, and whose main object in choosing the very professions they hold "is the hoarding of the shining gold, so alluring to the jaundiced eye

36. This is the sixth principle of Arya Samaj.

of the competition-sick practical man"—a system of education which simply infuses "a devotion to the mere husks and rinds of gold, that struggle for place and pelf, that faith in *mere material comfort and wealth*, which eats out of human hearts all patriotism and which is the very opposite of the Spirit that gives energy to scientific achievements"—a system of education that makes "competition" the war cry of all times and classes, "enables the rich to take advantage of the necessities of the poor, makes each man snatch the bread out of his neighbour's mouth, converts a nation of brethren into a mass of hostile isolated units."

Yes; he detested this system of education, which makes every man look to his own material interests, be they obtained by any means. It was a mission of his life to establish a chaste system of education—the system of the old *Rishis*, as expounded by Swami Dayanand Saraswati. He had an ambition of doing something towards the exploration of "the sacred and antique realms of Sanskrit literature," which he believed to be "replete with the recondite knowledge of Nature and Nature's God."

The high and difficult objects, which he set forth before him, and which his *Vedic Magazine* was to attempt to aim at, can fairly and safely be taken to be those aimed at in almost all his writings and preachings. These are in the first issue of his *Vedic Magazine* stated to have been:

> To meet the needs of the ever-increasing interest in the Vedas, by presenting translations, abstracts, reviews and criticisms on different portions of Vedic literature; to picture the interior truths of Vedic philosophy, so needed in this age of externalism; to present the *philanthropic* and *benevolent* religion of the Vedas, in contrast with the *sectarian*, or *communitarian*, but not *humanitarian* religions of the world; to attack time-honoured and ignorance-begotten superstitions; to teach the principles of true reform as distinguished from time-serving and popular policies; to keep alive the pure and simple truths of the Vedas, by presenting controversial articles and reviews; to remove the wilful misinterpretations, or sincere misunderstandings of selfish priestcraft, pedantic philologists and shallow materialists.

Hence it is that we find that his first literary effort of any importance related to an exposition and elucidation of the rules by which Vedic terminology should be interpreted.

Like the great reformer Swami Dayanand, he ascribed the degeneracy of India and the existence of all evil customs amongst the Hindus, the descendants of the ancient Aryans, to the misinterpretation of the Vedas. The Vedas being the fountain of all true knowledge according to the faith of almost every class

of Hindus, their correct interpretation is of the highest importance to every Hindu. The Vedas having been acknowledged to be the oldest book extant in the library of the world, their correct interpretation is of no less paramount interest and importance to the learned world.

The Vedas being the oldest religious writings of the world, containing, according to the Europeans as well, "the earliest yearnings of the human heart after the Deity" and true *religion* being the highest civilization, their correct meanings are of the utmost importance to humanity at large. The Vedas being considered to contain the cures of almost all diseases whether religious, social, or political, their accurate study is of first-rate importance to suffering humanity. The Vedas being the holiest part of that literature, from which, Max Muller says, "we here in Europe who have been nourished almost exclusively on the thoughts of Greeks and Romans and one Semitic race, the Jewish, may draw that correction which is most wanted to make our inner life more comprehensive, more universal, in fact, more truly human, a life not for this life only, but a transfigured and eternal life," their correct understanding is of no less significance to the European world. It was for these reasons that, following in the footsteps of his most revered leader, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Guru Datta Vidyarthi first of all bestowed his attention upon the subject of the interpretation of Vedic terminology.

It was in 1885 while he was a student of the Lahore Government College, that Guru Datta Vidyarthi wrote a paper under the heading of *The Terminology of the Vedas* which was published in several numbers of the *Arya Patrika*, i.e. Nos. 4, 7, 14 and 17 of Vol. 1 of *Arya Patrika* dated July 11th, August 1st, September 19th and October 10th of 1888 respectively.

This paper was reprinted and published in pamphlet form in the beginning of 1888, when the Pandit was officiating as Professor of Physical Science in the Government College, Lahore. The dedication runs thus: "To the memory of *the only Vedic scholar* of his time Swami Dayanand Saraswati, by his *sincere and devoted* admirer, the author, Guru Datta Vidyarthi." This dedication only gives some idea of the devotion which Guru Datta Vidyarthi felt towards Swami Dayanand. I can affirm from personal knowledge that this devotion was exceptional in the whole constitution of the Arya Samaj. The more Guru Datta Vidyarthi studied Dayanand, the more he became devoted to the gifted Reformer. His was not a blind devotion, but was as intelligent as it was strong. To turn to the *Terminology*, the pamphlet spoken above seems to have been meant to be an introduction to the larger treatise which the author intended to write, an instalment of which he latterly published in his *Vedic Magazine*, Nos. 2 and 3. A study of both these papers can show that it was never intended to exhaust the subject in either of these publications.

The first paper was more in the nature of a refutation of the method adopted

by European professors in the interpretation of the Vedic terms. The positive side was only very slightly touched and ancient authorities were not fully quoted. In the second paper, the positive side, i.e. how should the Vedas be interpreted, has been sufficiently dealt with, giving illustrations and quotations from ancient works.

The importance of the subject has been touched upon from two different standpoints.

In the first paper from the abstract philosophical point of view, the author says:

> The question of the origin, nature and eternity of *Shabda*—human, articulate and inspired speech—has been a very important question in Sanskrit literature. The highly philosophical character of this question cannot be doubted, but the peculiar characteristic, which attracts the attention of every Sanskrit scholar, is the all-pervading nature of the influence it exerts on other departments of human knowledge. It is not only the *Nairuktikas* and the *Vaiyakaranis*, the grammarians, etymologists and philologists of ancient Sanskrit times, that take up this question; but even the acute and subtle philosopher—the last and the best Sanskrit metaphysician—the disciple of the learned Vyasa—the founder of one of the six schools of philosophy—the religious aphorist Jaimini cannot isolate the treatment of his subject from the influence of this question. He runs in the very beginning of his *Mimansa* (dissertation) into this question and assigns a very considerable part (proportionately) of his treatise to the elucidation of this question. It is not difficult for a reader of modern philology, well-versed in discussions on onomatopoeia and other artificial theories of human speech, to perceive the amount of wrangling which such questions give rise to. We have mentioned the position assigned to this question in Sanskrit literature not so much with a view to put an end to all this wrangling which, perhaps, is unavoidable, but with a view to take up, in a brief way, another and a more practical question involved therein, i.e. the question of the interpretation of Vedic terminology.

In the second paper from the practical Indo-European point of view, the author remarks:

> With us the question of the terminology of the Vedas is of the highest importance, for upon its decision will depend the verdict to be passed by the future world, respecting the great controversy between the East and the West, concerning the supremacy of the Vedic philosophy. And even now, the determination of this question involves issues of great value. For,

> if the Vedic philosophy be true, the interpretation of the Vedas as given at present by Professor Max Muller and other European scholars must not only be regarded as imperfect, defective and incomplete, but as altogether false.

Further on (after quoting the opinions of Schopenhauer and Swami Dayanand upon the translation of the Vedas by European scholars) he says:

> It is this want of Vedic scholarship among European scholars, this utter ignorance of Vedic language and philosophy that is the cause of so much misinterpretation and prejudice even in our own country. We are, indeed, so often authoritatively told by our fellow-brethren, who have received the highest English education, but are themselves entirely ignorant of Sanskrit, that the Vedas are books that teach idol-worship or element-worship, that they contain no philosophical, moral and scientific truths of any great consequence, unless they be the commonest truisms of the kitchen. It is therefore a matter of greatest concern to learn to attach proper value to the interpretations of these European scholars. We propose, therefore, to present a rough outline of those general principles, according to which Vedic terms should be interpreted, but which European scholars entirely ignore; and hence much of the misinterpretation that has grown up.

European Professors are apt to prove the mythological character of the Vedas by the testimony of comparative philology, deductive psychology and comparative mythology; Guru Datta Vidyarthi cuts the evidence into pieces in page 1 to page 11 of his 1st paper. I do not think speculation can prove the Vedas to be books of mythology, specially when such speculation, in the words of Guru Datta Vidyarthi, leaves "alternative explanations, rival hypotheses, parallel theories to confront the same facts and phenomena.

In his second paper (on page 35) he says:

> The fundamental error of this supposition (that primitive is always mythology) lies in regarding a contingent conclusion as a necessary one; for, although mythology may be the result of barbarous intellect and analogical reasoning, it is not necessarily always so. It may even grow up as a degenerate, deformed and petrified remnant of a purer and truer religion. The history of religious practices, primarily designed to meet certain real wants, degenerating, after a lapse of time, on the cessation of those wants, into mere ceremonies and customs, is an ample testimony of the truth of the above remarks. Had the European scholars never come

across the mythological commentaries of Sayana and Mahidhara, or the *Pauranic* literature of post-Vedic (nay, anti-Vedic) period, it would have been impossible for them, from the mere grounds of comparative mythology or Sanskrit philosophy, to alight on such interpretations of the Vedas as are at present current among them. May it not be that the whole mythological fabric of the *Puranas*, later as they are, was raised long after the vitality of true Vedic philosophy had departed from their words in the sight of the ignorant pedants? Indeed, when one considers that the *Upanishads* inculcate that high philosophical monotheism, the parallel of which does not exist in the world—a monotheism that can only be conceived after a full conviction in the uniformity of nature,—and that they together with the philosophical *darshanas* all preceded the *Puranas*; when one considers all this, one can hardly resist the conclusion that, at least in India, mythology rose as a rotten remnant of the old philosophical living religion of the Vedas. When through the *ignorance* of men, the *yaugika* meanings of the Vedic words were forgotten, and proper names interpreted instead, there grew up a morbid mythology, the curse of modern idolatrous India. That mythology may thus arise on account of the decay of the primitive meaning of old words, even Professor Max Muller admits, when speaking of the degeneration of truth into mythology by a process, he styles '*dialectic growth and decay*' or dialectic life of religion.

Then "mythology is the symbolization of human thought in the concrete" and "expressed in gross material terms and representing primary objects and phases of objects," while philosophy is abstract expressed in general terms and ultimate formulae. "Philosophy and mythology, therefore, stand contrasted" and hence "nothing is so completely subversive of the value of the mythological method as the existence of philosophy and philosophic ideas in the Vedas," as admitted by the European scholars themselves. This is explained by the European Professor by assigning different periods to different portions of the Vedas, ascribing the earlier portions to belong to *Chhandas* period and the later one to the *Mantra* period.

The word *Chhandas*, in *Laukika* Sanskrit, means spontaneity. Hence he regards *Chhandas* period to be the one, the hymns of which period only teach common things, are free from the flight of fancy, and are the spontaneous utterances of a simple (foolish) mind. The *Mantra* period (2900 years older) is full of technicalities and descriptions of elaborate ceremonies. Now we ask, what proof has Max Muller given to prove that the different portions of the Vedas belong to different periods? His proofs are only two. Firstly, the ill-conceived, confused idea of the difference

between *Chhandas* and *Mantras*, and secondly, the different phases of thought represented by the two portions.

We will consider each of these reasons in detail.
Says Yaska:

मंत्रः मननात् छन्दांसि छादनात् स्तोमः स्तवनात्।
यजुर्यजतेः साम समितमृचा।। निरु 7/92//

which means that there is no difference in the meaning of *mantra* and *chhandas*. The Veda is called the *mantra*, as through it one learns the true knowledge of all existences. The Veda is also called the *chhandas*, as it removes all ignorance, and brings one under the protection of true knowledge and happiness. Or, more explicitly still, we read in *Shatapatha*, (VIII.2):

छन्दांसि वै देवा व योनाधाश्छन्दोभिर्हीदं सर्वं वयुनं नद्धम्।

The *Mantras* (*deva*) are called *Chhandas* for knowledge of all human conduct is bound up with them. It is through them that we learn all righteous conduct. The *yaugika* sense of the words will also lead to the same conclusion. *Mantra* may be derived from the root *man*, to think, or *matri*, to reveal the secret knowledge. Panini thus derives the word *chhandas*—चन्देरादेश्च छः *Unadi Kosha*, iv. 219. *Chhandas* is derived from the root *chadi* to delight or illumine. *Chhandas* is that, the knowledge of which produces all delight or which illumines everything, i.e. reveals its true nature.

The second reason of Max Muller for assigning different periods to portions of the Vedas, is that there are two different phases of thought discoverable in the Vedas. The one is the truthful and simple phase of thought and corresponds to his *Chhandas* period. The other is the elaborate and technical phase of thought that corresponds to his *Mantra* period. But what proof has Max Muller to show that the hymns of his secondary period are full of elaborate and technical thought? Evidently this, that he interprets them thus. If his interpretations were proved to be wrong, his distinction of the two periods will also fall to the ground. Now, why does he interpret hymns of the *Mantra* period thus? Evidently, because on the authority of Sayana and Mahidhara, he takes the words of these *Mantras* to signify technicalities, sacrifices, and artificial objects and ceremonies, or, in other words, he takes these words not in their *yaugika*, but in their *rurhi* sense. It is clear, then, that if Max Muller had kept in view the canon of

interpretation given in *Nirukta*, that all Vedic words are *yaugika*, he would not have fallen into the fallacious anachronism of assigning different periods to different parts of the Vedas.

Thus does he dispose of the negative side of the question and refutes the arguments of those who insist upon the existence in large quantities of mythological matter in the Vedas. To turn to the positive side of the question, he says:

The first canon for the interpretation of Vedic terms, which is laid down by Yaska, the author of *Nirukta*, is that the Vedic terms are all *yaugika*. The fourth section of the first chapter of *Nirukta* opens with a discussion of this very subject. Yaska, Gargya, Shakatayana and all other Grammarians and Etymologists unanimously maintain that Vedic terms are all *yaugika*. But Yaska and Shakatayana also maintain that *rurhi* terms are also *yaugika*, i.e. were originally framed from the roots; whereas, Gargya maintains that only *rurhi* terms are not *yaugika*. The section concludes with a refutation of the opinion of Gargya, establishing it as true that all terms whether Vedic or *rurhi* are *yaugikas*. It is on this authority of *Nirukta* that Patanjali quotes in his *Mahabhashya* the same opinion, and distinguishes the Vedic terms from *rurhi* terms by the designation of *naigama*. Says Patanjali—

नाम च धातुजमाह निरूक्तेव्याकरणे शकटस्य च तोकम्

and a line before this

नैगम रूढिभवं हि सुसाधु

The sense of all this is, that all the *Rishis* and *Munis*, ancient authors, and commentators, without exception, regard Vedic terms to be *yaugika*, whereas *laukika* terms are regarded by some as *rurhi* also.

This principle, the European scholars have entirely ignored, and hence have flooded their interpretations of the Vedas with forged or borrowed tales of mythology, with stories and anecdotes of historic or pre-historic personages. Thus, according to Dr. Muir, the following historical personages are mentioned in the *Rig Veda*,—the *rishis* Kanvas, in i, 47-2; Gotamas, in i, 71-16; Gritsamadas, in ii, 39-8; Bhrigavas, in iv, 16-23; and Vrihadukthas, in x, 54-6.[37] But what is the truth! The words Kanva and

37. See J. Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. III, pp. 232-4.

Gritsa only signify learned men in general (see *Nighantu* iii, 13); the word Bhrigava only signifies men of intellect (see *Nighantu* v. 5). The word Gotama signifies one who praises, and Vrihaduktha is simply one whose *ukthas*, or knowledge of natural properties of objects, is *vrihat* or complete. It is clear, then, that if this principle is once ignored, one is easily landed into anecdotes of historical or pre-historic personages. The same might be said of Max Muller discovering the story of *Shunah-shepa* in the *Rig Veda*. *Shepa*, which means contract, (*Nirukta*, iii 2, शेप: शपते स्पृशति कर्म्मणो), being suffixed to शुन: or श्वन् which means knowledge, (श्वा शुसते: शवतेर्वा गतिकर्म्मण: स्यात्) means one who has come into contact with knowledge, i.e. a learned person.

Says Max Muller—But there is a charm in these primitive stories discoverable in no other class of poetry. Every word retains something of its radical meaning, every epithet tells; every thought, in spite of the most intricate and abrupt expressions, is, if we once disentangle it, true, correct, and complete.

Further again, says Max Muller, "Names are to be found in the Veda, as it were, in a still fluid state. They never appear as *appellations* not yet broken or smoothed down."

I cannot avoid the temptation of showing the absurdity and incongruity of the interpretation of Vedic *Mantras* by European scholars by giving in a tabular form their interpretations as compared with the interpretations of Guru Datta Vidyarthi or Swami Dayanand.

Take the 1st *mantra* 162nd *Sukta* of *Rig Veda*. The 1st *mantra* begins thus:

Max Muller's translation	*Guru Datta's translation*
"May *Mitra*, *Varuna*, *Aryaman*, *Ayu*, *Indra*, the lord of the *Ribhus*, and the *Maruts* not rebuke us, because we shall proclaim at the sacrifice the virtues of the swift horse sprung from the gods."	We will describe the power-generating virtues of the energetic horses endowed with brilliant properties or the virtues of the vigorous force of heat which learned or scientific men can evoke to work for purposes of appliances, let not philanthropes, noble men, judges, learned men, rulers, wise men and practical mechanics ever disregard these properties.
Ignoring the *yaugika* sense of the	Literally speaking, *Mitra* means

words used, Max Muller takes *Mitra*, *Varuna*, *Aryaman*, *Ayu*, *Indra*, *Ribhus*, and *Maruts*, to be proper names under the impression that *Mitra* is the "God of day." *Varuna* "the God of the investing sky," *Vayu* or *Ayu*, "the God of the wind," *Indra* the "God of the watery atmosphere," *Ribhus* "the artists," and *Maruts* "the storm gods."

The expression *devajata* he takes in its *laukika* sense to mean as "sprung from the gods" as well as translates *Virya* merely into "virtues."

a friend. *Varuna* means a man of noble qualities. *Aryama* means a judge or an administrator of justice. *Ayu* means a learned man. *Indra* means a governor. *Rabhuksha* means a wise man. *Maruth* means one who practically observes the law of seasons.

Ashwa means not only horse, but also a group of these forces, heat, electricity and magnetism, in fact, anything that can carry through a distance. (See Swami Dayanand's notes in the beginning of his commentaries on this *Sukta* and also *Rigvi* 27.1, as well as *Shatpatha Br.* 1. iii. 3.29-30). *Devayata* means "with brilliant qualities manifested or evoked to work by learned men", the word *deva* meaning *both brilliant qualities and learned men. Virya* means power-generating virtues.

That *ashwa* means heat, will be clear from the following quotations:

अश्वं न त्वा वारवन्तम् विदध्या अग्निं नमोभिः।।

The words *ashwam agnim* show that *ashwa* means *agni* or heat.

And further,

वृषो अग्निः समिध्यतेऽश्वो न देववाहनः। तं हविष्मन्त ईडते।। Rv. 1.27.1

which means *agni*, the *ashwa*, carries like an animal of conveyance, the learned, who thus recognize its distance-carrying properties.

Or further,

वृषो अग्निः। अश्वो ह वा एष भूत्वा देवेभ्यो यज्ञं वहति।।

Shatapatha Br. 1. iii. 3. 29-30

Then compare Sayana's translation of *Rig Veda*, IX 96, with that of Panditji's,

ब्रह्मा देवानां पदवी: कवीनामृषिर्विप्राणां महिषो मृगाणाम्।
श्येनो गृध्राणां स्वधितिर्वनानां सोम: पवित्रमत्येति रेभन्।।6।।

Says Sayana:

God Himself appears as Brahma among the gods, Indra, Agni, &c; He appears as a poet among the dramatists and writers of lyrics; He appears as Vashishta, &c. among the Brahmanas; He appears as a buffalo among quadrupeds; He appears as an eagle among birds; He appears as an axe in the forest; He appears as the *soma*-juice purified by *mantras* excelling, in its power of purification, the sacred waters of the Ganges, &c., &c.

His interpretation of *brahma*, *kavi*, *deva*, *rishi*, *vipra*, *mahisha*, *mriga*, *shyena*, *gridhra*, *vana soma*, *pavitra*—of all these words, without one exception, is purely *rurhi* or *laukika*.

Now follows the exposition of Yaska in his *Nirukta*, XIV 18. There is not a single word that is not taken in its *yaugika* sense. Says Yaska:

अथाध्यात्मम् ब्रह्मादेवानामित्ययमपि ब्रह्मा भवति देवानां देवनकर्मणामिन्द्रियाणां, पदवी: क वीनामित्ययमपि पदं वेत्ति कवीनां कवीयमानामिन्द्रियाणाम्, ऋषिर्विप्राणामित्ययमप्यृषिणोभवति विप्राणां व्यापनकर्मणामिन्द्रियाणां, महिषो मृगाणामित्ययमपि महान् भवति मृगाणां मार्गणक र्मणामिन्द्रियाणां, श्येनो गृध्राणामिति श्येन आत्मा भवति श्यायतेर्ज्ञानकर्मणो गृधाणीन्द्रियाणि गृध्यतेर्ज्ञानकर्मणो यत एतस्मिंस्तिषठति, स्वधितिर्वनानामित्ययमपि स्वयं कर्म्माण्यात्मनि धत्ते वनानां वननकर्मणामिन्द्रियाणां, सोम: पवित्रमत्येति... स्तूयमानोऽयमेवैतत् सर्वमनुभवत्यात्मगतिमाचष्टे।

We will not speak of the spiritual sense of the *mantra* as Yaska gives it. It is his object to explain that the human spirit is the central conscious being that enjoys all experience. The external world as revealed by the sense finds its purpose and object and therefore absorption in this central being. The *indriyas* or the senses are called the *devas*, because they have their play in the external phenomenal world and because it is by them that the external world is revealed to us. Hence *Atma*, the human spirit, is the *brahma devanam*, the conscious entity that presents to its consciousness all that the senses reveal. Similarly, the senses are called the *kavayah*, because one learns by their means. The *Atma*, then, is *padavi kavinam*, or the true sentient being that understands the working of the senses. Further, the *Atma* is *rishis vipranam*, the cognizor of sensations; *vipra* meaning the senses as the feelings excited by them pervade the whole body. The senses are also called the *mrigas*, for they hunt about their proper aliment in the external world. *Atma* is *mahisho mriganam*, i.e. the great of all the hunters. The meaning is that it is really through the power of *Atma* that the

> senses are enabled to find out their proper objects. *Atma* is called *shyena* as to it belongs the power of realization; and *gridhras* are the *indriyas*, for they provide the material for such realization. The *Atma*, then, pervades these senses. Further, this *Atma* is *swadhitir vananam*, or the master, whom all *indriyas* serve. *Swadhiti* means *Atma*, for the activity of *Atma* is all for itself, man being an end unto himself. The senses are called *vana*, for they serve their master, the human spirit. It is this *Atma* that being pure in its nature, enjoys all. Such, then, is the *yaugika* sense which Yaska attaches to the *mantra*. Not only is it all consistent and intelligible, unlike Sayana's, which conveys no actual sense; not only is each word clearly defined in its *yaugika* meaning, in contradistinction with Sayana who knows no other sense of the word than the popular one; but there is also to be found that simplicity, naturalness and truthfulness of meaning, rendering it independent of all time and space, which, contrasted with the artificiality, burdensomeness and localisation of Sayana's sense, can only proclaim Sayana's complete ignorance of the principles of Vedic interpretation.

According to Swami Dayanand the whole of this *Sukta* is an exposition of *Ashwa Vidya*, which means the science of training horses and the science of heat which pervades everywhere in the shape of electricity.

After showing the interpretations of other *mantras* of the same *Sukta* by Max Muller, the Pandit proceeds to show Sayana, "from whose diseases and defective victuals does the whole vitality of modern comparative philology and Vedic scholarship proceed," in his true colours. He compares Sayana's translation of *Rig Veda*, IX 96, with the exposition of the same by Yaska in his *Nirukta*, XIV 13. The translation of Sayana gives mythological garb to the *mantra* while that of Yaska Muni expounds a beautiful doctrine, a sublime truth, a pathetic fact, which is the essence of spirituality worthy of the revealed character of the Vedas.

After this some pages are devoted to the demolition of one of the most wonderful creations of Mr. Max Muller's imagination—that of *henotheistic character of religion being very prominent in the religion of Vedic poets.*

Well should the Vedic poets be proud of and thankful to the only man in the world, who has ever since creation been able to digest them, and give them the glory of revealing the henotheistic form of religion.

Hindu students, descendants of those believers in the Vedas, who are acknowledged by the so-called European scholars to be intellectual giants and expounders of systems of philosophy unparalleled in the history of the world, who have been admitted to be the fathers of the "first recorded system of philosophy in the world, . . . the earliest attempt on record to give an answer from reason alone to the mysterious questions which arise in every thoughtful

mind about the origin of the world, the nature and relations of man and his future destiny", should be ashamed of following the lead of men like Max Muller and Sayana, who disclose some of the sublimest portions of the Vedas to be simple mythology—fables concocted by the Aryans of yore. It is a pity of pities that the countrymen of Yaska should prefer the authority of Max Muller to that of the former, should persist in believing that Vedas are a collection of nonsense and are not sufficient to reply to the religious yearnings of the human heart.

With due deference to the learning of Sayana and Mahidhara, it must be said that they have been veritable foes of India. The loss of so many brethren, the degeneracy of so many souls, as have embraced Christianity, Mohammadanism, Buddhism and Materialism, can only be attributed to their prolific productions, to their mean translations of the holiest books of their forefathers. It is only when we ponder over these misfortunes that we feel and perceive the immeasurable loss we have sustained in the premature demise of men like Swami Dayanand and Guru Datta Vidyarthi. The efforts of the latter would have opened to the world the vast treasures of Vedic lore, and humanity would have been provided with means to drink deep from the real fountains of true knowledge. Men of their stamp only can resuscitate the name of Yaska, Vyas, Patanjali and a host of others. Sayana and Mahidhara would have been substituted by Yaska and classical Vedic commentators. Then and then only could India have a chance of realizing and rising to its former glory. It is the sad irony of fate that in interpreting the Vedas, Europeans should be the guides and trusted authorities of the Indians, the Hindus—the Aryans. Truly it has been said that the ways of Providence are inscrutable.

The remaining portions of the paper under notice contain a highly interesting, elaborate and fairly exhaustive discussion on the proper interpretation of the term *Devata*. The original text of the Vedas and Yaska has been profusely quoted to prove that *Devata* of the the Vedic *mantras* (as used in their expositions) is a general term applied to those substances whose attributes are explained in a *mantra* and hence every *mantra* is named after a *devata*, with the object of expressing whose properties God Omniscient revealed the *mantra*. In one place in *Nirukta*, VII, 4, Yaska says, "We find in the common practice of the world at large that learned men, parents and *atithis* or those guests, missionaries, who have no fixed residence, but wander from place to place benefiting the world by their religious instruction, are regarded as *devatas* or called by the name of "Devatas". Even nowadays this word is very often used as a mark of honour or distinction for a highly good and pious man. It is a matter of ordinary talk to say for living men that "so and so is a *devata*." By a beautiful process of reasoning supported by quotations from *Nirukta* does the Pandit arrive at the conclusion that "a *priori* analysis of the

knowable leads us to six things—*time, locality, force, human spirit, deliberate activities* and *vital activities*."

Thus it is established that the Vedas inculcate these six things in *devatas* and no others. Applying this crucial test to the 33 *devatas* spoken of in *Atharva* X xxii 4-27 and *Yajur* XIV 31 *Shatapatha Br.* P. XIV 16 is quoted to establish the soundness of the above proposition beyond doubt.

The following quotation by Max Muller has been used to show the perverseness of European translations. "In the beginning there arose the *Hiranyagarbha* (the golden germ). He was the one born Lord of all this. He established the earth and the sky: who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?" Now the reader should see for himself what can possibly be the consistent sense of the *mantra*, notwithstanding *Hiranyagarbha* (really meaning God) must be translated into *golden germ*. The paper ends with a few proofs of the monotheistic character of the Vedic religion.

Guru Datta Vidyarthi's was a humble effort to reproduce in English what had been expounded by the learned Swami Dayanand, the reproduction, of course, being in many places decorated by original gems of his own, which, nobody can deny, shed a new light upon the subject, specially for those who have only drunk from the reservoir of Western sciences. The papers were in due course forwarded to almost every well-known scholar of Europe and India, but very few of them seem to have ever noticed them, evidently they conceded the writing to be above reputation. One of them, Mr. Frederick Pincott, who is well known for the interest which he takes in the political affairs of India, was pleased to write to Panditji what he considered of his paper on the *Terminology of the Vedas*. Writes Mr. Pincott: "There must be very few Indians capable of writing such idiomatic scholarly English; and it is a great pleasure to me to find myself in communication with so thoughtful and studious a gentleman as yourself. My friend informs me that you are young and I am glad to hear that, with your industry and attainments, *you may live to do much good to the cause of enlightenment in India*." But no, this hope was not to be fulfilled. Ill-fated India was not to be enlightened by men of his stamp. Further on continues Mr. Pincott, "your present paper shows a large amount of reading and much original thought." Of course, this gentleman does not accept all what Panditji has written upon the subject, but that the European learned are being gradually drifted to the same right direction and that the teachings of Swami Dayanand and Guru Datta Vidyarthi, though unostentatiously, had their own effect upon European researchers, will be clear from the following quotations:

Further on says Mr. Pincott: "You do much good by impressing on your readers that the terms used in the Vedas are *yaugika*. The best interpretation of the Vedas is secured by taking the words in their natural sense as used at the time the books were promulgated, as far as we are able to ascertain the sense

ascribed to the words at that remote period. And the only way now remaining for ascertaining that sense is the careful comparison of passages in which the same word is found. In this way the *Veda becomes its own commentator*." Of course, that is not the only way, because we have got the *Nirukta*, *Nighantu*, *Brahmanas*, &c. Let but the authority of Sayana and Mahidhara be thrown away, and we are sure and confident to reach the desired goal, and the world is sure to conclude that the Vedas inculcate no kind of religion but *monotheistic*.

In another place says the same gentleman, "you are right in saying that the great commentators now so much admired (referring evidently to Sayana and Mahidhara) had very little, if any, better means of knowledge of Vedic terminology than we have at present." In another place speaking of Vedic literature, he proceeds to say:

> From the *Samhitas* (which he confines to three) we must proceed to the *Brahmanas*; from the *Brahmanas* to the *Aranyakas*, from the *Aranyakas* to the *Upanishads*; and the Vedic literature, properly so-called, comes to an end. There are no doubt old *Upanishads* and late *Brahmanas*, as there is even a late *Samhita*, the *Atharva*, but this great cluster of books is divided from everything else in Sanskrit by an impassable line.

Chapter XI

Upanishads

"In the whole world there is no study, except that of the originals, as beneficial and so elevating as that of the *Opanikhat*. It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death," so says Schopenhauer, one of the most celebrated German philosophers of the modern times. It would have been more in keeping with the dignity of the *Upanishads* to show their worth from their own texts rather than from the testimony of a foreigner, who never had the good fortune of studying the originals; but modern educated India, with its pride for borrowed feathers, with its aping manners, and wholly unIndian habits, with its love for superficial knowledge, with its adoration for empty titles, and with its scepticism towards, and disbelief in, all that is ancestral property in the domain of intellect, considers the originals to be unworthy of the time and labour, which their study demands. They prefer to have their information second-hand, and it is

only by means of translations that they choose to have a knowledge of their sacred books. *Indians*, direct descendants of the authors of the *Upanishads*, going to Europeans for knowledge of their sacred contents, is a fact which speaks volumes of disgrace and degradation, and it is no wonder, then, that their philosophy—the philosophy of the mighty Aryans of ancient India—is said to be "the mental produce of an unprogressive portion of mankind; . . . the thoughts of thinkers of a lower race, of a people of stationary culture, whose intellectual growth stands almost apart from the general movement of human intelligence."[38] To give the reader a faint idea of the sympathy and broad-mindedness, with which these pretentious saviours of India and Indian literature approach the best and the sublimest productions of the human mind in India, I will give one more quotation from the same author. Says he on p. 4—"In treating of Indian philosophy, a writer has to deal with thoughts of a *lower order than the thoughts of the every-day life of Europe.*[39a] Looking at the language he inherits and the general medium of intelligence in which he lives, the thoughts of the European are rich with the substance of Hebrew, Greek, and Christian culture. It is to be noted also that such *rudiments of philosophic thought* as are to be found in the Indian cosmologies are embedded in masses of religious imagery of a rude and inartistic kind. . . . . The great difficulty lies in this, that a *low order of ideas has to be expressed in a high order of terms*,[b] and that the English words suggest a wealth of analysis and association *altogether foreign*[c] *to the thoughts that are to be reproduced.*[d]

However vigilant he may be, a writer on Indian philosophy will find it hard to say neither too much nor too little,—*to present the facts as he finds them without prejudice and without predilection. It is all but impossible to place oneself in the position of the ancient Indian sages,—to see things as they saw them and to name them in the names they gave them.*[e] *The effort is nothing less* than an endeavour to revert to a ruder *type of mental structure, to put aside hereditary culture, and to become for the time barbarians.*"[f] The interesting

38. Quoted from A.E. Gough, *The Philosophy of the Upanishads* (p. 2).
39. The following footnotes are as in the source.
    a. Yes, the thoughts of everyday life of Europe (with their laws of marriage &c.) are certainly much more moral and of superior order than the thoughts of the authors of the *Upanishads*!
    b. For example, the translation of "Brahman" into "self", of "tapa" into "brooding", of "atma" into "soul", of "Hiranyagarbha" into "golden germ", of "yajna" into "sacrifice" and so on.
    c. Most certainly abundance of materialistic analysis and association which is altogether foreign to the sublime spiritual truths of the *Upanishads*.
    d. *The Philosophy of the Upanishads* by A. E. Gough.
    e. Quite true so far as it shows the unreliability of these translations.
    f. Would that we be spared to put off this spurious culture and become such barbarians as the thinkers of the *Upanishads* were.

character of the writing is the only excuse for this lengthy quotation. This is how one of the so-called oriental scholars of the day esteems one philosophy, the philosophy about which Schopenhauer passed the verdict reproduced in the beginning of this chapter.

It is simply with the object of giving the reader an idea of the extent and measure of our loss in losing such an able and trustworthy translator of the *Upanishads* as Guru Datta Vidyarthi that I am raising the bulk of my small pamphlet. The Indian public has become so dull-headed that truth can only be brought home to them when shown naked. Therefore when writing of Panditji's translations of the *Upanishads*, it is but necessary for me to show up those, who are taken as high authorities in these matters.

It is only Indians who can believe that men who still cling to Christianity as the solace of their lives, can properly understand and appreciate the sublime and lofty sense of the philosophy of the *Upanishads*. Let us turn to another, who assumes the garb of an impartial student, and who, to do justice to the man, seems to have been, to a certain extent, influenced by the immortal truths contained in them.

Says Max Muller: "Whatever other scholars may think of the difficulty of translating the *Upanishads,* I can only repeat what I have said before, that I know of few Sanskrit texts presenting more formidable problems to the translator than these philosophical treatises. . . . But I know full well how much still remains to be done both in restoring a correct text and *in discovering the original meaning of the Upanishads*; and I have again and again had to translate certain passages tentatively only, or following the commentators, though conscious all the time that the meaning which they extract from the text cannot be the right one." He explains his difficulties further on where he quite inconsistently says, "The real difficulties are of a very different character. They consist in the extraordinary number of passages which seem to us utterly meaningless and irrational or at all events so far-fetched that we can hardly believe that the same authors who can express the deepest thoughts on religion and philosophy with clearness, nay with a kind of poetical eloquence, could have uttered in the same breath such utter rubbish. Some of the sacrificial technicalities and their philosophical interpretations with which the *Upanishads* abound, may perhaps in time assume a clearer meaning, when we shall have more fully mastered the intricacies of the Vedic ceremonial. But there will always remain in the *Upanishads* vast amount of what we can only call meaningless jargon and for the presence of which in these ancient mines of thought, I for my own part feel quite unable to account." Here is a condemnation of his translation and a condemnation of the original in one and the same breath. This should open the eyes of all those Indians, who have been taking the translations of Sanskrit works by these European scholars to be gospel truth. No wonder then, disgusted

with these translations, Guru Datta Vidyarthi resolved "to disabuse his half-educated countrymen of their folly." This is the sentence which I find in his diary, dated 30th August 1888, where he writes, "I have read Muller on the *Upanishads*. How wrong he goes! sorry! no one to correct him and disabuse our half-educated countrymen of their folly." On the 7th of the next month, i.e. September, we find him busy in his noble but pleasant task, as his diary says, "Wrote some 2 pages on *Ishopanishad*. I have not yet finished the 1st *mantra*. But as I proceed, the subject grows more and more attractive, sublime and dazzling, so that I can only enjoy to write a paper or two at the utmost." The work was undertaken in very happy moments, because we find that the author was in a mood to grasp the captivating sense of the text. He knocked and it was opened unto him. Only two days previous to this, i.e. on the 5th September 1888, we find him writing, "What a blessing is religion! But one must understand the general system of providence to feel the happiness that religion brings." This noble conception of religion was reproduced and expounded only two days after in his learned exposition of the *Ishopanishad*.

Ishopanishad is one of those ten *Upanishads*, which Swami Dayanand Saraswati has accepted to be the most ancient and rather the only true *Upanishads*. On this point, at least now, there does not seem to be any difference amongst the luminaries of the learned world except the orthodox of India, and a unanimity of opinions prevails as to the ten *Upanishads* only being the ancient and the real *Upanishads* (see *Ancient India* by R. C. Dutt, Volume 1, page 177, and Introduction to Max Muller's *Upanishads*, Part Second). *Ishopanishad* is, in fact, a part and parcel of *Yajur Veda* and thus we possess a more authoritative commentary of the *mantras* comprised in this *Upanishad* in the invaluable *Veda Bhashya* of Shri Swami Dayanand Saraswati. But the exposition is our author's own, and nobody, who has once read it with his eyes open, can deny that it is a masterpiece. The originality of method adopted in expounding the sentiments of the *mantras*, and in illustrating what is really meant by them, is quite his own. His language is choice and his reasoning elevating. After telling how religion has been grossly misconceived, how artificial, fabricated, spurious theories have been sold in the name of religion, and how the doors of hope have been closed to the honest truth-seeking minds of this world, he proceeds to lay down the basis upon which true religion is founded—"the harmonious *development of all the faculties*, the righteous unfolding of all our capabilities of knowing and being." Thus are we prepared for receiving the first lesson to be learnt in religion, "which is inculcated by the first part of the first *mantra* of the *Upanishad*,—realization of the existence of *the universe-pervading* Divinity"; because says the author, "the lesson of individual reformation is never received till man has learnt to penetrate through the fleeting forms and phenomena of *Nature to Nature's God*." But before this lesson of individual

reformation is imparted to man, he is forewarned of the treacherous spells of this perishable world, "lest he may betake to seek delight in absorbing himself in the thoughts of" the latter. Along with this warning is man cautioned against the transgression of that principle,—justice, without which the individual reformation is impossible and without which this world would be a world of chaos and disorder.

Thus we are bidden "not to covet the wealth of any creature existing." This being the negative side of religion, the first lesson of individual reformation taught by the *Upanishads*, it next begins with its positive side. "Man is enjoined to aspire to live in virtuous deeds for a hundred years in peace with his neighbours." Both these lessons have been beautifully illustrated by a description of the principles of justice and utility, which have been made to dictate that "the universal machinery employed in the institution of nature is so regulated that the personal good of each, on the whole, consists in the good of all. One way the whole current of nature flows,—the common weal."

"Nature enjoins but one religion and that is action incessant, untiring, powerful, energetic action—for good, for glory and for happiness of each and all."

Just to give effectuality to the lesson imparted above, the *Upanishad* next shows the consequences of delinquency and informs us of the fate of "these men after death, who destroy the purity of their own souls. . ... Such men surely go to those regions where evil spirits dwell and which utter darkness involves."

Next is inculcated the worship, the true worship, and the mode of worship of that "one unchangeable, eternal, intelligent Spirit, who is even more vigorous than mind."

It is said that "Material senses cannot perceive Him," and therefore the sage "withdraws his senses from their natural courses" (disengages himself from this world of senses) and perceives the Supreme Being everywhere present (in meditation or Yoga), "who moves all, but himself does not move, who is far to the ignorant but at hand to the wise, who pervades inside and outside of all." One so absorbed becomes so exalted a being, that he considers "all beings as existing in the Supreme Spirit and the Supreme Spirit as pervading all beings, and cannot view with contempt any creature whatsoever." Such persons who, through wisdom, perceive "the unitary Spirit as dwelling in all beings, that overspreads all creatures, who is entirely spirit without the form, either of a minute body or an extended one, which is liable to impression or organization, who is the Ruler of the intellect, self-existent, pure, perfect, omniscient and omnipresent, become above joy and sorrow, and these latter never overtake them."

"Blessed are they who enjoy the knowledge of this Divinity, this

omnipresent Providence" and who understand that "*the kind Father* has from all eternity been assigning to all creatures their respective purposes." On the other hand, "Miserable are they who worship ignorance," and "far more miserable are they who arrogantly presume knowledge" (the present class of so-called educated Indians who presume to know more than their ancestors, even in the matter of religion, belong to this category).

"Saints wise and firm" as contra-distinguished from the ignorant described in the previous *mantra* proclaim that "Ignorance, the life of senses, produces one result and knowledge, the life of spirit, produces exactly the reverse." But "he, who realizes both, disciplines his senses and keeping them in subordination to the life of spirit, passes through physical dissolution by virtue of the life of senses, and enters immortality by virtue of the life of spirit." Having taught so far, the *Upanishad* proceeds to proclaim the horrors of scientific atheism and idol-worship, by saying that "Miserable are they who worship atoms as the efficient cause of the world, but far more miserable are they who worship the visible things born of atoms." But what fate awaits him who can properly understand and make a right use of both? "He who realizes both, after death, which is the consequence of the worship of things visible, enjoys immortality, the fruit of the realization of divine power displayed in atoms." All the remaining *mantras* but one, that finish this *Upanishad*, of course, contain prayers, not for wealth, women or worldly honours, but for a knowledge of the truth and the duty. That one says that "the air shall sustain the immortal spiritual body, the gross one shall only last till cremation. O thou! who hast sown the seed of deeds, remember that the same thou shalt reap." The *Upanishad* ends with a prayer which we repeat, "O All-wise Being! Thou art the source of knowledge, inspire us with Thy wisdom, lead us to rectitude and drive off our evil. To this end we repeatedly praise Thee and adore."

This is the epitome of the *Ishopanishad*, as understood and expounded by Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi, M.A., to those who know a little of Sanskrit. I will show the worth of Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi's translation by comparing it with those of others. *Mantras* 9 to 14 have proved so many stumbling-blocks to many, and many have spoiled the beauty of the original by bold and meaningless speculations as to their true sense. Amongst them Raja Rammohun Roy,[40] the revered founder of the Brahmo Samaj, for whom I have always had the deepest respect, has unfortunately been one. Now to begin with the *mantra* 9, which runs as follows:

40. (1772-1833); Vedic scholar and social reformer who worked for the abolition of the system of *sati*; founded Brahmo Samaj in 1828; translated *Upanishads* into English and established Vedanta College in Calcutta; advocated English and scientific education and started a Bengali journal *Sambad Kaumudi.*

He, i.e. Raja Rammohun Roy, translates it as follows:

> These observers of religious rites that perform only the worship of the sacred fire and oblations to sages, to ancestors, to men and to other creatures, without regarding the worship of celestial Gods shall enter into the dark regions, and those practisers of religious ceremonies, who habitually worship the celestial Gods only disregarding the worship of the sacred fire, and oblations to sages, to ancestors, to men and to other creatures, shall enter into regions still darker than the former.

To my humble self this translation seems to be as distant from the original as the northern pole from the equator. Instead of being a translation of the 9th *mantra* of the *Ishopanishad*, it seems to be a bold stroke of the Raja's imagination. Or, if it has been taken from some other commentator, the commentator must have confounded the text with a production of his own bright intellect. The expressions, "fire", "oblations", "sages", "ancestors", "men", "celestial Gods" have no place in the text, nor is there any word which may have the remotest connection with, or reference to, them.

I wonder whence did Raja Rammohun Roy get this sense of this text, because the *mantra* is so simple as one that even a boy in the Middle School with only a little knowledge of Sanskrit can understand its literal sense. Compare the above with Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi's translation of it, which runs thus:

> Miserable are they who worship ignorance; but far more miserable are they who arrogantly presume knowledge.

The 10th and the 11th *mantras* being closely connected with and in continuation of the 9th, their translation by Raja Rammohun Roy is palpably wrong. Then again the 12th *mantra* contains exactly the same words as the 9th, only that the expression "Sambhuti" has been used in place of *Vidya*. Now Raja Rammohun Roy translates this word "Sambhuti" into "prior operating sensitive particle, allegorically called Brahma," while Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi translates it into "visible things born of atoms." One fails to understand how Raja Rammohun Roy extracted the idea of Brahma from this *mantra*.

Thus have these noble texts been distorted and words forced to give meanings which dictionaries and common sense cannot support. Still the followers of this very gentleman are never tired of saying that Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi and Swami Dayanand's interpretations are strained.

In the same way, his translation of the 13th and 14th *mantras* is quite strange. Want of space forbids us to give any more quotations and we leave our readers to form their own conclusions from the above samples.

Pandit Bhim Sain's[41] translation of the 9th, for example, though totally differing from Raja Rammohun Roy's, is just like the latter's quite his own. Both of them have lost sight of the text. Speaking of the text, I have to note that our Pandit has followed the text of the *Shankar Bhashya*, because at that time Shri Swami Dayanand's *Bhashya* of the 40th chapter of the *Yajur Veda* had not been published, and therefore Guru Datta Vidyarthi could not have the advantage of having it before him. Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi has followed the text accepted by Swami Shankaracharya, which differs from the text published by Swami Dayanand Saraswati in the following particulars:

Mantras 9th, 10th and 11th as appearing in Panditji's pamphlet, appear as 12th, 13th and 14th in Shri Swami Dayanand's *Bhashya of Yajur Veda*, Chapter 40th, and *vice versa*. *Mantra* 17th of Panditji's pamphlet is 16th in Swami's *Bhashya*. Moreover, the expression कृत स्मर of the same *mantra*, i.e. the 17th, occurs twice in Panditji's work and only once in the Swami's, and that only in the end. Immediately preceding this very expression in Swami's *Bhashya* is क्लिवे स्मर in place of कृतो स्मर of Guru Datta Vidyarthi's. The 18th *mantra* of the latter is the 16th of the former. Again the *mantra*, which appears 17th in Swami's *Bhashya*, is not found in Panditji's work as such. It is, in fact, composed of the latter portion of the 15th and the last three expressions of the latter part of the 16th as published by Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi. Also the whole chapter in Swami's *Bhashya* ends with *mantra* 17th, while Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi's consists of 18.

There is a slight difference in the text of the 4th as well as in that of the 6th *mantra*. Guru Datta Vidyarthi reads "pretyabhigachhanti" in the 3rd, while Swami reads it "pretyapigachhanti", and hence the difference of translation. Just in the same way, Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi reads "vijugupsate" in the 6th *mantra*, while Swami reads it "vichikitsati."

I have very carefully and several times compared the Pandit's translation of the text of *Ishopanishad* with the translation of the commentary upon the same by Swami Dayanand and I can conscientiously say that in my humble judgment and to my uninitiated ears at least the sense of both generally seems to be the same. The only distinction, however, being very clear, Swami's translation bears the impress of that mastery over the stores of the Sanskrit language, which was unfortunately wanting in the latter, while that of Guru Datta Vidyarthi bears the stamp of some aid having been taken from Western sciences, which our author had so largely acquired. In him was or could be witnessed the happy confluence of both the western and Eastern systems of knowledge. This was the solitary instance, so far as our limited information goes, of one, whose head had not been turned by a sudden rush of Western

41. A disciple of Swami Dayanand.

sciences, whose eyes had not been irrevocably dazzled by the sudden glare of Western knowledge, who, notwithstanding a vast acquaintance with Western sciences, possessed an intelligent, reasonable and at the same time deep faith in the existence of the Supreme Being as well as that of the soul as propounded by the Vedas. To return to the comparison of both the translations mentioned above, I am bound to say that with the exception of differences that have resulted from the differences of the text, there is hardly any important difference between the two.

Panditji's translation of *mantras* 4 and 14 does seem to differ from that of Swamiji's but the real difference, I think, can be traced to the rather abstruse character of Panditji's style as compared with the simplicity of Swamiji's notes and commentaries. Thus, although Pt. Guru Datta Vidyarthi had no advantage of seeing Shri Swami Dayanand's commentary, (in which case he, of course, must have followed him), he, however, anticipated what was to be published in the name of the greatest Sanskritarian of the age, and this fact alone, all else being left out of consideration, would be sufficient to establish Pt. Guru Datta Vidyarthi's fame as a Sanskrit scholar.

Mundukopanishad—This is another of those ten genuine *Upanishads* to which reference has been made above. Just as the *Ishopanishad* propounds what is true religion, this *Upanishad*, i.e. the *Mundak*, teaches us what is *true worship*. Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi's translation of the *Upanishad* with an exposition of the same is the most learned and most excellent of all his literary productions. Ancient authorities have been profusely referred to and the quotations display what a vast stock of knowledge and information Panditji always had at hand. To begin with the exposition. Worship, "the first act of pure religion," has been defined to be "a spontaneous declaration of the inmost affections, brimful of genuine feeling, profound attraction and soul-absorbing meditation." And it is "this system of worship" which "is the subject of *Mandukyopanishad* to furnish." "It enjoins the worship of the Supreme Deity alone, the Eternal Omnipresent Being, the Supernal Soul of Nature. For, what but a true conception, knowledge and realization of this Universal Spirit can be consistent with that overflowing, exultant, blissful attitude of the mind, otherwise designated as worship. The worship of the Eternal Being is the only worship that is enjoined by the *Upanishads*; and this Eternal Being is everywhere named Omkara." *Vyas Bhashya*, i.e. commentary by Vyas on *Yoga Darshana*, has been quoted in answer to the question, "Is it by mere arbitrary convention or by some natural process that *Om* indicates the Ruler of the Universe?" The answer runs thus: "Surely the relation between the symbol *Om* and that of which it is a symbol, is not conventional but actual, and the symbol but expresses the actual relation. . . . Since it is an established fact with those who know Revelation or those *yogis* who have realized what the relation between the

signifying symbol and the thing signified is, that the words, their corresponding ideas, and the relation between them is eternal or exists in nature, and not by human convention." This very idea is supported by Patanjali's *Mahabhashya*, 2nd *A'hnika* commentary on the seventh *Shiva Sutra,* where *Akshara* has been translated into "eternal and omnipresent." Max Muller also in his *Lectures on the Science of Language* advances the same idea by saying that "they (the roots) are phonetic types produced by a power inherent in human nature. They exist, as Plato would say, by nature; though with Plato we should add that where we say by nature, we mean by the hand of God." Thus we see modern Europe as represented by Max Muller, ancient India as represented by Vyas and Patanjali, and ancient Greece as represented by Plato, all combined in supporting our Panditji's conclusions. Next to this "the recitation of *Om* and the constant presentation before the mind of its signification being the two essentials of Divine worship, it is of the greatest importance to know what the significance of the unitary syllable *Om* is," and why it is that so much significance is attached to this syllable.

> It is not only because *Om* is the most soft, melodious and smoothly-flowing syllable in sound, nor merely because the letters composing *Om* spontaneously and without education of any sort escape the lips of the babe who is just beginning his vocal exercises, but because there is something deeper, dearer and diviner in its significance. It is true that whereas other names of God are also names of things temporal, (for instance, the Sanskrit *ishwara* is also the name of a governor, even *brahma* is also the name of the universal ether and of the Vedas, *agni* is, besides, the name of fire, and so on), *Om* is only the name of the Eternal, Omnipresent, Universal Spirit. That can only be a reason in behalf of its precision and definiteness of meaning, but hardly a reason for the extremely superlative importance that is attached to it. It is also true that *Om* is more comprehensive in meaning than any other term signifying God in Sanskrit, or, in other words, that it connotes a number of attributes that no other word or syllable singly does, but even that is of secondary importance. The deepest and, in truth, the highest reason is that the signification of *Om* is the *keynote* of the realization of the Divine Spirit. The several letters of *Om*, with unparalleled exactness, mark the successive steps of meditation by which one rises to the realization of the true nature of Divinity.
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> The process of this realization is exactly the reverse of the process by which the mind acts on the external universe. If the latter be called evolution, i.e. folding out of the internal faculties of the mind till they become externally manifest, the former should be called involution, i.e.

folding the mind within itself till the faculties that were working on the outer plane retire from outside and turn inside for more interior work.

This is what is so carefully explained by this *Upanishad*, which, after stating what is *Om* (*Mantras* 1 and 2), proceeds to describe *the four phases of the existence* of the Great God, and concludes by explaining how those very four phases are represented by the different letters constituting the syllable *Om*. The first termed "wakeful phase" is that in which "God is manifest as diffused in external nature; causing incessant interaction among the seven parts that constitute the organization of the Universe; determining the disposition of the nineteen organs of thought and correlation that enable organisms to seek their enjoyments in gross palpable matter; and regulating, with precision and order, the physical motions of the Universe."[42]

This is illustrated by the "wakeful phase" of man, which consists of his activity in day and night up to the time he reposes and begins to dream, as well as by the analogy of a watch-maker's phase, who is manifest in the machinery of his watch and the precision and regularity of motion of appropriate parts. "The second phase is the contemplative phase. In this phase God is viewed, as living in the interior design, that fixes the relation of the seven parts to each other, or adapts the nineteen functions of correlation to the purpose in view, thus interlining the several ideas that constitute the design, and giving to the Universe an invisible but interior organization." This is illustrated by an analogy of the dreaming state of man and designing phase of the watch-maker. "The third phase is the *slumbering phase*, where, like the human soul that is folded within itself, God is viewed as Himself, an embodiment of all ideas and principles, Himself all delight, enjoying but delight, only manifest in His consciousness, and endowed with the highest wisdom." This is illustrated by an analogy of that state of man, in which he sleeps free from dreams and enjoys complete repose, although in full possession of all those faculties that worked in the "wakeful" and "contemplative phases as well as that state of the watch-maker in which, though possessed of the whole knowledge required for the capability of designing the watch and befitting its machinery, &c., he did not choose to make use of it for that purpose."

The last and the fourth phase is that which is called the "essential mode of existence," i.e. the *Atma*, the Universal Spirit, in which we should "view Him

42. According to Lajpat Rai, the *Saptanga* or the seven parts of the organization are: (1) Head, (2) eyes, (3) ears, (4) organ of speech, (5) organ of respiration, (6) heart and (7) feet. The nineteen internal organs of thought and their correlation constitute five organs of senses, five organs of actions, five *pranas* or vital nervauric energies, and *Manas*, *Buddhi*, *Chitta* and *Ahankara*. All these organs, Lajpat Rai adds, are regulated by *Vaishwanara* who controls and directs all beings and towards whom all beings are led.

neither as designing interiorly, nor as diffused throughout external nature, nor in the transitional mood between both; neither embodiment of intelligence, nor fraught with volitional consciousness, nor devoid of consciousness; but as the Invisible, Unimpressible, Incomprehensible, Undefinable, Unthinkable, Unknowable Being, only conscious of self in self, i.e. the Absolute and the Unconditioned, with no trace of the relative or the conditioned world about Him, All-calm, All-bless, One and Only. This is illustrated by the analogy of the *personal identity of man* and the self or personality of the watch-maker. Thus does this wonderful *Upanishad* explain the four phases of the existence of "the Eternal, Omnipresent, Universal Spirit, whose name is *Om*, and whose modes of existence are represented by the single letters A, U, M respectively, of which this monosyllable *Om* is made up.

> In contemplating the deep significance of ॐ the yogi holds before his mind the vast expanse of the universe with its mighty orbs rolling in their magnificent splendour undisturbed through vacuous paths, carving ethereal waves of unseen exquisite beauty in the ocean of infinity and contemplates upon the grand meaning of the universe, for, in the words of the *Upanishad*, the mighty volume of nature is spread as a commentary on the nature and attributes of the Eternal Omnipresent Being.

The testimony of the *Atharva Veda* (X, xiii, 4, 32-34) has been produced on the subject "of the constitution of the universe as typically represented by our solar system." Panditji has readily utilized his vast knowledge of the physical sciences in the exposition of these *mantras*. The beauty of expression exhibited and the richness of information displayed in the exposition is our only excuse for this long quotation which I subjoin.

> We approach (in our contemplations), with highest reverence, the Great Adorable Being, who has made this frame of the universe as a living demonstration of His existence, as a highly fitting lesson on His nature and attributes, and who has placed in this wondrous organisation the sun with its luminous atmosphere as the brain, the super-terrestrial space intervening between the sun and the earth as the stomach, and the earth (typical of all planets) as the lower body, the feet.
>
> We adore the Great Being, in whose creation the sun and the moon are the two eyes, and heat, the mouth.
>
> We adore the Great Being, who has made the atmosphere the lungs, and the directions of space the organs of hearing. Let us adore Him, the Infinite Being, the source of all wisdom.
>
> Here is displayed to the mind of the devotee the scheme of perfect

organisation. For, is not the sun with its atmosphere the brain of this system? The brain in the human body, technically called the *cerebrum* and the *cerebellum*, is an organisation of sublimated elements, a battery of vital powers, the seat of nervous energy, the controller of all motions and functions of the body. And the sun too, like the brain, is a reservoir of sublimated elements, an infinitely powerful battery of magnetic, electric, optic, actinic, caloric and dynamic forces, the seat of all combustible, vegetative energy, and of what has been called in geology by the technical name of sub-aerial denudation; the controller of all planetary and cometary motions. And the super-terrestrial space teeming with the atmosphere is truly the stomach, the organ of digestion, refining and elaborating the materials consigned to it. It is in the atmosphere that clouds are formed, vapours attenuated, streams of electricity generated, surface particles of earthly salts and metals volatilized, and the products of all these processes diffused and mixed up, till all is reduced to homogeneous fluidity, carried above the lower strata of the atmosphere, there condensed, and then poured out as pure, precious, plant-feeding rainfall, very much like the stomach that, after refining, sublimating and attenuating the food it receives, extracts from its juicy contents the elements of the crimson vital liquid, and pours it forth like rainfall into the heart. Before, however, the materials pass into the stomach, they have to pass through the mouth, that by the aid of its maxillary organism divides and re-divides the solid food, till it is powdered down and mixed with saliva and thus converted into fluid material. In the same way, before the earthly materials are consigned to the stomach, the atmospheric space, they pass through the mouth, the heat. For, what is the channel that transmits the earthly materials to upper regions? What is it that powders, atomizes and reduces to vaporous subtlety the hard solid materials of earth, or what is it that dissolves these materials in the saliva of nature, water? It is heat that does all the work. Impelled by the restless, vivifying, vibratory oscillations of heat, solids are dashed into liquids and liquids into gases. It is by heat that gaseous particles, thus endowed with rarity, are borne on the wings of warmth to upper regions of comparative cold. It is heat that licks out of the liquid lake the watery elements of the atmosphere. Heat is the mediator between the earthly materials and the atmosphere, just as the mouth is the mediator between the food and the stomach. And the foot is the lowest part of the organization, symbol of obedience to the throned monarch, the brain. It obeys the motor impulse communicated to it from the brain through the nerves. So does the earth obey the influence of the sun communicated to it through the ethereal channels of space. The eyes in the human organism are constructed to enable man to perceive colours and develop.taste. Similary, the light-beams

> of the sun, *angirasa* (अंगिरस:) of the *mantra*, develop the spectral universe, thus standing in the same relation to the universe as the eye stands to the human body. The human lungs are fitted not only to act as the bellows, drawing in and expelling air or to oxygenate blood, but to draw in invisible elements that directly strengthen the brain. So the atmosphere is fitted not only to attract particles of vaporous matter or repel the suspended earthly particles, but to draw out from the earth, especially at the two poles as if at the ventricles, streams of positive and negative electricity that leave the earth for ever and for good.

The theory of the *Atharva Veda* is almost supported by *Yajur Veda* (XXXI, 13), and *Mundak* (II. i. 4). Then is the analogy of the human constitution furnished on the same lines. As I am afraid lest I should copy the whole here, I think I must refer the reader to the original and proceed "to contemplate God in His everlasting designs in the interior constitution of the universe", which is the second or "the contemplative phase." In this phase, "although we do not view God as acting upon the universal matter and disposing it of in various shapes, we view Him as in a dream, associating particles of matter, aggregating and designing them in their respective places, till an entirely new design is interiorly contemplated. As if retired from the physical universe, God is viewed as contemplating the design of creation." "From this view of the Divinity," which is represented by *U*, "the yogi passes to the third phase, *the slumbering phase*," in which "God is viewed as exercising omnificence, omnipotence and omniscience with the greatest regularity, precision and perfection without the exercise of strained will or brain-elaborated design but by the spontaneous activity of the eternal self-intelligent principles and ideas whose embodiment He is." "The fourth, a hyatus, which is no *matra* or letter, *is the true Ineffable Name*." Thus, "to recapitulate, the three *matras* of *Om*, when duly contemplated and in their respective order, set free the devotee from the troubles of this world. The contemplation of the first *matra* confers upon him the most exalted state of existence possible on this earth, that of the second fills him with the joys of the spiritual world, and the contemplation of the last blesses him with *Moksha* or immortality."

We have been favoured with a translation of this *Upanishad* by Archibold Gough, M.A., whose presumption against the sublimity of the philosophy I have quoted at some length in the beginning of this chapter. To show him aright, I will give a few samples of the excellence of this learned gentleman's translation as compared with that of Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi. In the very 1st *mantra* the expression *akshara* has been translated into "syllable" instead of "Eternal and Omnipresent," which is the sense given by Patanjali in his *Mahabhashya*, and which is the interpretation put upon it by Swami Dayanand

Saraswati in his *Rigvedadi Bhashya Bhumika*, page 44, lines 21-25. Then in the same *mantra* the word सर्वं (*servam*), which occurs twice, has in both places been translated into "all", and thus सर्वमोङ्गकार एव translated into "All is *Om* and only *Om*," while सर्वं here means "perfect": reason given in *Nirukta Parishishta*, 14th Chapter, 13th and 14th *Kandas*.

Then compare the translation of the 2nd *mantra* of Gough, which runs thus: "For all this world is Brahman, this self is Brahman, and this same self has four quarters." (*Pad* = quarter instead of phase of existence from the root *pad* which means *gati*.) The same mistakes are repeated in the translation of the 8th *mantra*, which has been translated into "this same self is exhibited in letters. The quarters are the letters and the letters are the quarters—the letter A, the letter U and the letter M," and so on.

It is with this knowledge of the Sanskrit language that these gentlemen pretend to elevate the sense of the *Upanishads* by translating them into the English language. Let the future generations judge them by their translations and we are sure of the verdict.

This, perhaps the shortest, seems to be one of the most mystic of the *Upanishads* and nobody can deny that our Pandit has proved himself equal to his task.

Mundak Upanishad – This was the third *Upanishad*, which Panditji took in hand, and of which we possess a complete translation by the same. To our misfortune the exposition could not be written before the noble spark fled to higher regions and we, unfortunate men of this world, were left bereft of the light, which might have shown way to "many a forlorn and shipwrecked brother," which might have guided many a totally way-lost rather misled mind on the high road to the temple of Hope, yes, which might have caused the heart of many a noble but misguided soul to throb with aspirations of the highest order.

Efforts will be made to supply an exposition, but those efforts having no connection with the present work, I proceed to show the excellence and the merit of Panditji's translation by comparing it with others extant. I have compared it with those by Max Muller, Gough, Raja Rammohun Roy and Pandit Bhim Sain, and I will compare some parts of it with one or two quotations from each. To begin with the 1st *mantra* of this *Upanishad*, which runs as follows:

ब्रह्मा देवानां प्रथमः सम्बभूव विश्वस्य कर्त्ता भुवनस्य गोप्ता।
स ब्रह्म विद्यां सर्व विद्या प्रतिष्ठामथर्वाय ज्येष्ठ पुत्राय प्राह।।।।

Gough translates it as follows:

"Om. Brahma was the first of the gods that emanated, the maker of the

world, the upholder of the spheres. He proclaimed the science of the self, the basis of all science, to his eldest son, Atharvan."

Now compare it with Raja Rammohun Roy's, which is as follows:

> Brahma, the greatest of celestial deities and executive creator and preserver of the world, came into form; he instructed Atharva, his eldest son, in the knowledge respecting the Supreme Being, on which all sciences rest.

Again compare both these with that of Max Muller, which runs thus:

> Brahma was the first of the *Devas*, the maker of the universe, the preserver of the world. He told the knowledge of Brahman, the foundation of all knowledge, to his eldest son, Atharva.

Before I venture to comment, I think I must give Panditji's translation as well, which is as follows:

> Brahma was the first of literati, who was the master of the physical laws of nature and an adept mechanician. He was the protector of mankind. He taught his eldest son, Atharva, *Brahma Vidya* or the knowledge of the Deity, which is superior to all other kinds of knowledge.

Thus it is quite apparent that the 1st and the 2nd translations are far from correct. They are, in fact, quite against the sense of the *Upanishads*, which boldly and clearly preach the formless character of the Deity.—See 6th *mantra* of this very *Upanishad*, 1st *Khand*, which has been understood in almost the same sense by all the above-mentioned four translators, the slight difference being simply a difference of words used, and which declares "that Immortal Being" to be "invisible, incomprehensible, without origin, without symbolical distinction (without caste according to Max Muller and others), without ears, without eyes, &c., &c. Also see the 2nd *mantra* of 2nd *Mundaka*, 1st *Khanda*, which inculcates that "that Immortal Being is glorious, incorporeal, all-pervading, existing in and out, unborn, without organs of life and of mind, holy, subtler than the all-filling ether, and even than the human soul." How could, then, the *Upanishad* in the very first *mantra* say that Brahma came into form? Thus Mr. Gough and Raja Rammohun Roy have quite wrongly translated the word *Sambabhuva* into "emanated" and "came into form;" while Max Muller and Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi quite correctly translated into "was". We can perceive the wisdom of Max Muller in keeping the original words *Devas* and *Brahman* instead of giving them a wrong sense by putting in "gods" or "celestial deities", for the former and "self" for the latter. Then we see the vast difference

between the meanings attached to the word *Karta*. Certainly "executive creator" is a very defective and objectionable translation of *Karta*, and preference must be given to "maker" or the substitute for it adopted by Panditji.

Then again look to the translations of the 8th *mantra*, which runs thus:

तपसा चीयते ब्रह्म ततो ऽ न्नमभिजायते।
अन्नात् प्राणो मनः सत्यं लोकाः कर्मसु चामृतम्।।8।।

Now, Gough's and Max Muller's translations of this *mantra* look very strange. Gough's is as follows:

> *Brahman* begins to swell with self-coercion. Thence the aliment begins to unfold itself, and from that aliment proceed *Prana*, the internal sensory, the elements, the actions of living souls, and then perennial fruits.

Max Muller translates this *mantra* thus:

> The *Brahman* swells by means of brooding (penance); hence is produced matter (food), from matter breath, mind, the true, the worlds (seven) and from the works (performed by men in the worlds) the immortal (the eternal effects, rewards and punishments of works).

Compare both of these with the following by Raja Rammohun Roy:

> From His omniscience the Supreme Being resolves to create the universe. Then nature, *the apparent cause of the world*, is produced by him. From her, the prior operating sensitive particle of the world, styled Brahma, the source of the faculties proceeds. *From the faculties* the five elements are produced. *Thence spring* the *seven* divisions of the world whereon ceremonial rites with their consequences are brought forth.

The italics appear in the original and the words in the italics, says the Raja, do not represent anything in the text but have been added by himself to facilitate the easy expression of sense.

I wonder why do Gough and Max Muller insist upon translating *tapas* into "coercion" and "brooding", while Max Muller himself, in his footnote on page 28, admits that there is the authority of *Parasara Smriti*, page 39, for this word having two roots, one *tap* to burn, the other *tap* to meditate. The reader can himself see how elevating are the expressions, "*begins to swell by self-coercion*" and "*swells by means of brooding*."

Yes, it is such like translations which show the text of the sublime

Upanishad to be meaningless jargon in many places. How can Brahma swell by brooding or penance (which latter word Max Muller has been pleased to put in brackets, as if brooding was not sufficient enough to make the expression clumsy enough)? Compare with all these excellent productions the following by Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi:

> When that Great Being contemplates creation, the universe springs up into material forms, and thence evolve life, intelligence, truth, birth, good deeds and immortality.

There is a world of difference between the sublimity of the original (as also shown by Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi's translation) and the clumsiness of translations of Messrs Max Muller and Gough.

In the next *mantra*, which is closely connected with the above quoted one, another egregious mistake seems to have been committed by these foreign and alien translators of the *Upanishads*. Their translations show that from "*Brahman* is born *Brahman*," whereas really the latter *Brahman* means the material universe or *brahmand*; else how can God be born? Consistently or inconsistently, reasonably or unreasonably, whether they understand the thing or not, translate it they must, and then say that *Upanishads* contain much that is "meaningless jargon". God save the *Upanishads* from such self-opinionated dangerous friends!

Then again, in the translation of the 1st portion of the 1st *mantra* of the 2nd *Khanda*, both the European scholars have displayed their ignorance of the sense of the text. Gough translates it thus:

> This is the truth: The rites which the sages saw in the *mantras* were widely current in the *Tretayuga* or second age of the world.

Max Muller's is almost the same except the slight difference in the words used. Now compare it with Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi's version, which runs as follows: "It is true that the sages divided the *mantras* which enjoined the performance of religious works into three *Samhitas*." This translation tells by itself that it is the more reasonable, more consistent, more logical, better sounding of the two. Even Max Muller recognizes the apparent clumsiness of introducing the sense of a *yuga* into the *mantra*, because, says he in the footnote to this *mantra* on page 30, "I should prefer, however, to take *treta* in the sense of *trayi vidya* and *santata* as developed, because the idea that the *Treta* age was distinguished by its sacrifices seems to me of later origin." Now substitute the sense given in the footnote to that adopted in the translation and you can easily see the difference which the substitution will make.

Raja Rammohun Roy translates the passage in his own fashion and quite differently from either of the above; but it certainly does support Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi's version to a great extent. He writes: "Those rites the prescription of which wise men *such as Vaishishta and others* found in the Vedas are truly the means of producing good consequences. They have been performed in various manners by three sects among Brahmans, namely, *Udhuryoo or those who are well-versed in the Yajur Veda, Oodgata or the sect who know thoroughly the Sama Veda; and Hota or those Brahmans that have a perfect knowledge of the Rig Veda.*" Whatever appears in the italics being according to his own authority his own in addition to the translation of the text for the purpose of making it more easily intelligible than it would be otherwise. All this leads us to one and the same conclusion, that Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi's is the best translation extant, in fact, more reasonable, more consistent, and more in keeping with the sense of the subject described therein than that of anybody else. I would have given some more quotations but for the fear of the bulk of the book being unnecessarily enhanced.

Even with these defects and commonplace mistakes in his translation, Max Muller admits that his translation is not everywhere literal, for, he says, "however, we have laid ourselves open to another kind of censure also, namely, of having occasionally not been literal enough. It is impossible to argue these questions in general, but every translator knows that in many cases a literal translation may convey an entirely wrong meaning." What wonder then that Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi in his attempt of not sacrificing the sense has in some places departed from the rule of making the translation literal enough to be understood by everybody and anybody. In more than one place does the mystic terminology of the most sublime portions of the *Upanishads* require a fairly good acquaintance with classical Sanskrit and the canons of its interpretation. European translators have, on the other hand, quite ignored that difficulty. They have everywhere adopted the most ordinary meaning to even the most mystic and the most difficult of these passages, and thus much that is highly invaluable in these *Upanishads*, has been made to appear as "meaningless jargon" having no sense whatsoever. It was in this sphere that Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi's services were the most required, and it is one of the greatest misfortunes to be so soon and so abruptly deprived of the advantages to be reaped from the learning of so thoughtful a spirit.

Chapter XII

Miscellaneous Writings

However desirable it may be, it seems to be impracticable to collect all miscellaneous writings of Panditji, not because they are numerous, but because many of them appeared in the form of newspaper articles and without his name being affixed to them. His pen was always busy and his earliest contributions went to the *Arya Magazine* of Mr. R.C. Bary, then to the *Regenerator of Aryavarta* and then to the *Arya Patrika*. I will make an effort to collect as many of those contributions as I can be certain of being his, but this is a vague promise which need not be depended upon.

However leaving such as we are yet uncertain about, there are still several which have been published in his name and are really his. The most learned of these is his paper on the *Evidences of the Human Spirit*, covering over about 45 pages of his *Vedic Magazine*, Nos. 2 and 3. This is the most abstruse of all his writings with which he seems to have taken a great trouble. The paper displays a vast study—a study which enabled him to bring in the views of not less than seventeen scientific luminaries, in addition to the beliefs of the principal current theologies of the world. The list contains the names of Huxley, Nicholson, Roscoe, Haeckel, Brousais, Hooper, Wundt, Hunter, Rush, Von Helment, Whytt, Stahl, Bain, Spencer as well as those of Dr. Buchner, Cullen, Brown and Darwin. First of all, the mechanical theory of the Universe as supported by men like professors Haeckel and Wundt has been dealt with and demolished into pieces by the testimony of other brother scientists. Thus showing how the latter, who may fitly be designated as the intellectual giants of the modern times, have been forced to recognise the existence of a vital principle independent of matter, howsoever different the names are which these different gentlemen have been pleased to confer on it. Zoology then steps in to support the doctrine that "Life is the cause and not the consequence of organization." Then says Professor Nicholson: "It appears, namely in the highest degree probable, that every vital action has in it something which is not merely physical and chemical, but which is conditioned by an *unknown force, lighter in its nature, distinct in kind* as compared with other forces." This force he designates as "vital" and adds that "no attempt ever has hitherto been made to explain the phenomena of reproduction by the working of any known physical or chemical force." Panditji concludes this discussion thus:

> It is clear, then, that by whatsoever name it may be called, *life, vital principle, organising principle, occult cause, sensorial energy, vis*

> *medicatrix naturoe, anima*, or so many other names the modern scientific world has come face to face with a dynamic physiological reality which they call life, it is no more a mere breath of the Christians, a mere phantom of the Mohammadans or a mere product of organisation of the Materialist. It is rather a *subtle, refined, invisible, dynamic substance*, a reality that builds up the organisation, causes growth, vitality and motion, repairs injuries, makes up losses, feeds, feels, is sentient, originates actions, resists, overcomes and cures disease. This is the irresistible conclusion to which physiological researches have led sincere investigators and philosophers in Western countries. Thus it is that they have been compelled to admit a reality, call it material if it will please you, yet a reality, which the ancient philosophers of the East styled *Atma*.

It is a pity that Guru Datta Vidyarthi felt constrained to pass the following strictures upon educated Indians, because of their deeply rooted prejudices against the authority of ancient India. Says he:

> If we have purposely avoided mentioning ancient Eastern authorities on the subject, it is for the plain reason that India of the present day derives its intellectual activity, faith, belief and conviction mainly from civilized occidental England. Had we, in the very beginning, culled evidence from ancient Sanskrit authors just to prove even these very positions literally, there is no doubt that these remarks would have been unhesitatingly pronounced as superstitious, whimsical, unscientific and old-grown; although, even after the best evidence from Western authors on the subject has been collected, there is not to be found that systematic, exhaustive enumeration of evidence which is the characteristic of a settled or decided opinion.

Then, of course, followed the authorities of the author of *Vaisheshik Darshan* and of Gautama on what this *Atma* is and what its attributes are. A long quotation with a literal translation of it in English is given from the *Prashastapada Bhashya* of Gautama, which goes to prove that "these attributes (referring to the attributes of *Atma*) refer to a substance wherein they inhere, are not to be found in any and every substance, and are not cognizable by the outer senses. Hence they are the attributes of a third something—*Atma*. The attributes of *Atma* are knowledge, feeling of pleasure, feeling of pain, desire, hatred, exertion, morality and immorality, impressibility, number, magnitude, separate existence, connectibility and separability." The second paper which appears in his *Vedic Magazine*, No. 3, is an exposition of the above text of the Gautama in which Panditji has discussed the doctrine at great length, giving

arguments in support of Maharshi Gautama's position and refuting those of the opponents. The position taken by Charles Bradlaugh in his *Has man a soul*? has also been referred to, and it is shown how he contradicts the well-founded principle, *ex nihilo nihil fit.*

There is one more paper under the heading of *Pecuniomania*, which requires a special notice. In this paper Panditji deals with the question, "How far is the pursuit of wealth a healthy pursuit?" The 13th *shloka* of the 11th chapter of Manu forms the text of this article. The evidence of Dr. White, the President of the Cornell University, has been brought into establishing that "the society is at present pested with four fatal diseases, *indifference*, *scepticism, infidelity* and finally *materialism.*" And the cause of all this, says Guru Datta Vidyarthi, "is evidently *the modish worship of mighty matter and money.*" These conclusions are illustrated by application to the present state of society as seen by us in ordinary daily experience of this world. To these four diseases stated above, Panditji adds another which he styles "Pecuniomania" and which he defines to be a disease of the *type of insanity, very contagious, transmissible by hereditation, incurable or hardly curable, of the most virulent type.* "Its symptoms", he continues, "are unsatiable thirst or ambition, always hungry stomach, a phlegmatic filled (with indifference), splenetic (peevish) temperament; extreme sensitiveness and irritability; strong heart-burn of animal and inhuman passions; restlessness; anxiety and sleeplessness; fits of pride; power and feverishness; paralysis of moral and spiritual faculties; insensibility to impressions ultra-sensual or not physical; extreme proneness to over-feeding; over-clothing; indolence; luxury and comfort; an assumed air of superficial independence; personal weakness, infirmity." Then the dangerous consequences of poverty are also depicted in equally gloomy colours and the article concludes with the following verses, the first from Manu, and the second from the *Upanishad*:

वित्तं बन्धुर्वय; कर्म विद्या भवति पञ्चमी।
एतानि मान्यस्थानानि गरीयो यद्यदुत्तरम्।।

—Wealth, nobility of blood, age, professional skill or honest industry and knowledge (the wealth of mind), these are the five things to be respected, the one following more than the one preceding it.

आत्मना विन्दते वीर्य्य विद्यया विन्दतेऽमृतम्।।

i.e. true power comes from the spirit and immortality from the possession of ideas.

His lecture on the *Realities of Inner Life* (printed 7th August 1890) is an

epitome of the views of the seer A.J. Davis expressed in his book bearing the same name.

Vedic Text, Nos. 1 and 2, are scientific expositions of *Rig Veda Sukta* II, *Mantras* 1 and 7 respectively.

Vedic Text No. 3 gives an exposition of *mantras* 1, 2 and 3 of the XXX *Sukta* of the *Rig Veda* bearing on the subject of household.

This closes the list of his miscellaneous writings, leaving those that have not been published yet or that appeared in the form of newspaper articles in the columns of the *Arya*, the *Regenerator of Aryavarta* and the *Arya Patrika*.

Chapter XIII

Panditji and Yoga

नायमात्मा प्रवचनेन लभ्यो न मेधया न बहुना श्रुतेन।
यमेवैष वृणुते तेन लभ्यस्तस्यैष आत्मा विवृणुते तनुं स्वाम्।।3।।

"The Spirit God is obtained neither by lecturing, nor by much hearing, nor ingenuity. Whoever heartily seeks Him, obtains Him. This Spirit reveals His glory to him who renders himself a body (*sic*) unto Him."
—*Mundakopanishad*, III. ii. 3

The subject is too sacred for my profane and unholy hands and the theme is too noble to be touched by my ignoble self. But no biography of Panditji can be complete without reference to his struggles, during the whole course of his life, for learning and practising *yoga*. To become a *yogi* was the highest ambition of his life, and the following extracts from his diaries will show, very faintly though, how his mind was absorbed in this subject.

To save misunderstandings and misconceptions, I desire to put it on record at once that it is without any pretence of writing a single line of my own upon the subject that I approach this phase of Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi's life.

My knowledge upon this, the most sacred of all the subjects, is a perfect blank and therefore it is simply to fulfil my duty as a narrator of facts that I copy down the following without any notes and comments of my own. I trust that these naked truths will look more beautiful and sublime than with comments by uninitiated hands. In the preceding pages we have seen child Guru Datta Vidyarthi practising *pranayam* and reading mysterious books. Then we have

followed youthful Guru Datta Vidyarthi asking questions about *yoga* and the best authority upon it. Now we will find Guru Datta Vidyarthi panting for the practice of *yoga* and gathering knowledge of the most mysterious of sciences from whomsoever and whatsoever he could.

To begin with 1884.

January 14th—I henceforth promise to devote half an hour daily to my sacred duties.

August 15th—This day will commence the rigorous discipline that I have to serve under.

February 18th, 1885—Wild fire, grow you must, ah! season my brain!

March 1st—yoga: I must follow.

April 23rd—Since my confusion of mind is not entirely overcome and the summer season has commenced, I should begin, . . . and at once commence the sacred practices. What a disgraceful act it is to have left out the practices two complete years since!

Shame! Shame! Shame! Shame!!!!

April 24th—A revolution! Why not drain up all feelings and affections and join Mill and Dayanand. Or, will affections assert themselves?

October 4th—A new phase of life. Has my faith so utterly bereft me of my senses that I have turned totally blind to my duty? Yes, I must carry it out! carry it out!

June 21st, 1886—. . .I must begin yoga practices, otherwise there is no use of idle talks.

January 16th, 1887—I should try for yoga and be a *preacher in life.*

January 25th—I had normal exercises of yoga.

February 6th—This day I go with L . . . to see Pandit. . . I am most glad to see him. He seems to be well acquainted even with yoga matters.

February 8th—I go to Mr. . . . and read with him . . . eleven *sutras* of Yoga . . . from this day forth I have . . . when my *vretti*[43] goes to, most frequently in all things including all my channels of connection with the external world.

February 9th—I go to Mr. . . .; he tells me that when a man is taken in for dharma he is no more put under trials but before this he is . . . For instance, one trial consists of one being made to teach one person, to discuss with another, to measure time by throwing stones and dropping sand, while a woman may stand in front. He also tells me that he was once asking for a person who could teach him true science and there were many *sadhus* nearby; that there he heard many people proposing many ways for the same; that he rejected them when suddenly another person appeared with a long *safa*[44] belaid. He seemed to stop to be

43. State of mind
44. Turban

paralysed for a moment, and then came up and said, "Are you then desirous of doing the same, of practising true yoga? It is now and even now for you to begin. Would you that you were told the way in which just now and here you should do the same or that in your profession under your own ways in your mode of life, you may be able to practise it". . . and then he was taken up. I have been asked to go to him in summer vacations, join him there and perform yoga.

I have tomorrow to get up early enough, go through yoga if possible, sundry *japs* of *Gayatri.*

Let me then get up early and do the same.

February 10th—I get up early enough and go through 1000 *japs* of *Gayatri* and then in the evening go to him and finish off 1st chapter of Yoga philosophy.

February 20th—Nothing up to present for yoga. Most sorry.

In the meantime he receives the news of his father's serious illness, starts off for Multan and, on his return, writes:

The purpose of today
Woven with pain into plan
Tomorrow rends away. Alas!!!

To resume

May 19th—Can I become regular? O Heaven, make what I should be!

May 25th—Received a registered letter from . . . appended herewith. Good information on yoga. That there is no *yoga* at present, seems to me to be impossible.

June 30th—Immortality! Thou art my dream. Thou art my theme. Heaven, inspire!!!

July 1st—Immortality! Thou art my dream. Thou art my theme. Heaven, inspire!!! Immortality! Thou art my dream. Thou art my theme. Heaven, inspire!!!

July 4th—Spoke of yoga to . . .

July 8th—Learnt two *asans.*

November 14th—1st day of my *brata.*

November 21st—I got up this day so late that I have my mind to eat nothing today, to sleep with no blanket and wear cold clothing on.

November 25th—Promises to devote one hour a day to *nirodh yoga.*

We find that in the beginning of the next year Panditji very frequently complains of serious illness. In fact, the fatal disease had begun to work out its direful development so early.

May 7th, 1888—No exercises now-a-days. Let me begin today.

September 5th—A certain uneasiness of mind conquered by a pleasant *Sandhya* in which my mind was captivatingly drawn.

September 10th—Discipline commences from today.

After this we don't possess a regular diary of Panditji, though we find a few scraps here and there even for the period covered by the above dates. There is ample evidence in the diary itself to show that it was sometimes neglected for days and months together.

8
MISCELLANEOUS

1. Tribute to Keshub Chunder Sen[1]

Another great man is no more. It is only three months when we heard of the death of the greatest reformer of the age,[2] and we had scarcely as yet forgotten that great national loss when we are given to understand that the Indian Cicero breathed his last on the 8th January of this year. Oh India, Oh Aryavarta, the land of chivalry, when we consider these losses, when we think of the calamities which have befallen thee in this short period of three months, all hopes of thy regeneration, of thy coming to the same level, appear to us uncertain. Surely India has been deprived of one of her greatest sons by the death of Keshub Babu. With all his shortcomings, which nearly every man on earth has more or less, we cannot but acknowledge that his exertions on the side of his mother country's reform had a great influence on the minds of his educated countrymen. We, for our own part, give him the highest place among the Indian reformers of the 19th century, Raja Rammohun and Swami Dayanand Saraswati excepted. Though he did not exactly tread in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessors, yet his oratory, his hatred of idolatry, his purity of life, will ever be memorable in the golden pages of history. He was the first native of India who shook the minds of his English audience by the great power of speech which he possessed. He was the first Arya, in the sense of being a son of Aryavarta, who addressed thousands of our rulers in their own language with such force as to elicit their most enthusiastic admiration. Though we did not concur in all what he preached, we had always considered him as one of being a living proof of the ancient greatness of this fallen land; we had always thought him with a few others only to have inherited that famous Aryan blood which is spoken of with respect even in the far distant lands of Germany and the United States. His countrymen may safely trust in making him a model of devotion to that Almighty God who is the maker of this transient world. In the end we offer our heartfelt prayers for the peace of his soul and the consolation of his followers.

1. Printed in *The Regenerator of Aryavarta* of 18 February 1884.
   Keshub Chunder Sen (1838-1884); social and religious reformer and a leading member of Brahmo Samaj; after the split in Brahmo Samaj in 1866 established Brahmo Samaj of India; worked for women's education, widow-remarriage, temperance and eradication of untouchability; founded Calcutta College, Albert College and Industrial School; started several journals in English and Bengali including *Indian Mirror, Bamabodhini Patrika* and *Balakbandhu*; works include *True Faith, Yoga—Objective and Subjective, The New Dispensation* and *Sadhu Samagam.*
2. The reference was to Swami Dayanand.

2. On Munshi Abdul Aziz's Conversion to Hinduism and Comments of the Editor of "Rafiq-i-Hind"[1]

India is, as our readers already know, inhabited by men of different classes and numerous religions, the most prominent of which are Hindus and Muhammadans. Hindus are the ancient sons of the land, and so many Muhammadans are mostly the converts from Hinduism to Muhammadanism. If we scrutinize the Muhammadan community, we find that only five or 10 per cent of the so-called Muhammadans are the descendants of the original invaders on Aryavarta, and all the rest are sons and grandsons of those who had changed their religion. The only class of the inhabitants of India who had got no mixture of any religion up to the middle of the nineteenth century were Hindus. With the diffusion of the Western culture, people began to feel the weakness and absurdities of the Hindu *Pauranic* religion more than they felt in the Muhammadan period. In that period the only recourse for such unsettled minds was to throw themselves into Muhammadanism; but with the light of English education there was opened a channel for another religion. Those who turned their attention from Hinduism became of different opinions as to adopt which of the two—Muhammadanism or Christianity. Just at this crisis sprang up a *Rishi*,[2] whose mission was to rescue his countrymen from going to "false divinities" as they are called by an eminent freethinker.

This *Rishi*, whom we need not name and over whose death we have been mourning for more than last six months, translated the Vedas into *Bhasha*, and opened the door of Sanskrit literature to those of his countrymen whose minds were ready to grasp truths. This naturally had a reaction in the minds of those who, without having the benefit of studying their own *Shastras*, had blindly become Muhammadans and Christians. This reaction produced glorious results, and the most promising of them came into light in 1884. The conversion of Munshi Abdul Aziz, M.O.L., from Muhammadanism to Aryanism, forms a new epoch in the history of the Hindu nation, and we esteemed this conversion not because a Muhammadan gentleman had been gained, but that a new channel had been opened for those countrymen of ours who, having separated themselves from their forefathers, have enlisted their sympathies on the other side. We for our own part viewed this change as a most glorious fruit of the efforts of the Arya Samaj. The remarks of the young Editor of the *Rafiq-i-Hind* were quite out of place, and we are sorry to say that the Editor of such a paper, which

1. Printed in *The Regenerator of Aryavarta* of 5 May 1884.
2. Swami Dayanand

professes not to be open to religious controversies, should have given vent to his personal feelings in its columns, specially the words used for Munshi Harvash Ram were quite uncalled for. It should be kept in mind by him that the present age is a progressive one, and a change of old views is a necessary result of liberal education. If this is the only proof of the fickle-mindedness of Munshi Abdul Aziz that he has changed his view as to what religion was the fittest for him to embrace, I think our young Editor too will have to be blamed. To stick to the old views even when a man is convinced of their being absurd is what is designated by the term prejudice; and if Mr. Chishti wanted Munshi Abdul Aziz to stick to the Muhammadan religion, though he ceased to believe in its principle, we bid farewell to his views, and wish him for the sake of the nation, because he is the Editor of a paper, to study Mill's *On Liberty*. The attacks of Mr. Chishti, on the want of power of decision in Munshi Abdul Aziz, who now-a-days occupies the chair of Munsiffship in the district of Dera Ghazi Khan, were quite *unworthy* of our *worthy* Editor. We advise him to withdraw his remarks, which have injured the feelings of many educated Hindus.

3. A New Branch of the Arya Samaj[1]

Lala Lajpat Rai, Secretary, Rohtak Arya Samaj, writes, "Our brother Master Rur Singh, gymnastic teacher, Rohtak school, went on a visit to the Jahazgarh village school and succeeded in establishing a branch of the Arya Samaj there consisting of about ten members at present with Lala Ram Gopal, a wealthy *mahajan*, as President, and a Lambardar, by name Chaudhari Kuria, as Vice-President. The Samaj has been established on a small scale indeed, but it is hoped that with the help of Rohtak Samaj, whose branch it is, it shall soon gain a firm footing."

1. Printed in *Arya Patrika* of 17 October 1885.

4. Need for a Systematic Biography of Swami Dayanand[1]

What are the lives of those great and noble souls who have passed before us, if not beacons to future advancement and light-houses in the great ocean of human progress? But how do we preserve the memory of those glorious and brilliant gems in the sea of human race who devoted their lives to the amelioration of

1. An appeal printed in *Arya Patrika* of 23 January 1886.

the condition of suffering humanity. So it is by appealing to the history that we can know the achievements of such master minds as Vyas, Patanjali, Krishna, Confucius and others. Is it by the perusal of their works that we can derive the benefit described in the first sentence of the humble contribution? Is it by visiting their shrines that we can unveil the mystery, or by paying a visit to those monuments which are the emblems of the gratitude of those for whom they suffered the greatest sacrifices that a member of the human race can? Is it by seeing and worshipping their pictures that we can study their minds? Yes, to a certain extent, it would be the answer. History, monuments, pictures and works do to a great extent preserve their memory and bring them home to us. But can any of them singly make us understand them all in all? Can shrines, pictures and monuments show the way in which the departed souls rose to eminence? Can the production of their intellect and genius draw a picture of theirs before us? No! no! Then is there no means by which the future generations can study the minds and bodies of their illustrious predecessors? Why not, if so, by means of having their biographies? Yes, it is by means of having the records of their lives in a systematic form from the date of their birth to the date of their death that posterity can know how they rose and how they fell and, finally, how they succeeded. How many of such biographies do we possess of those great and mighty Aryans who are admitted to be the teachers of the world? Very few, very few indeed and many of those too were lost to us amidst the war and bloodshed.

Are we to sleep over the faces connected with the life of that eminent Sanskritarian who till recently was amongst us? Are we to allow them to disappear and fall in oblivion? Are we not to fulfil the sacred obligation, which we owe to the time-honoured deceased on the one hand and the coming generation on the other? How long are we to remain indifferent to the call of duty? Brethren, the non-existence of a complete and systematic biography of the late Maharshi Swami Dayanand Saraswati is a great blot which every true Arya should try to efface. It is incumbent upon us morally, socially and religiously to leave a correct account of the gradual development and the different and successive phases of the greatest mind that honoured Aryavarta in the *Kaliyug*. Some time ago we issued a notice calling upon all acquainted with anything bearing on the life-work of Swami Dayanand to come forward and supply the writer with the facts they know. But, to my utter disappointment, I regret to say that during this period of one month and fifteen days which have elapsed since the publication of that notice in the *Arya Patrika* none but one from Ajmer has responded to the call. Arya brethren, is not this single fact sufficient to dishearten any man, however persevering he may be? Does it not reflect the discredit to those specially who are the office bearers of the different branches of the Samaj all over India?

Once more do I, my brethren, appeal to your sense of gratitude, dutifulness, sense of honour, and sense of the time and see whether you shake your lethargy or not. Once more do I, my fellow-countrymen, stretch my hand for help to you.

Everyone of the Aryan blood is under a deep obligation to try his best to have the biography of Swami Dayanand begun, carried on and completed. I appeal to all the journalists of India (including the *Arya Patrika*), specially the Samajic ones, to the Rajas and Maharajas, to the nobility and gentry, to men of literature and science, in short, to every native of India, be he rich or poor, for help in the most sacred and most important undertaking of mine. The Samajic Hindi and Urdu journalists are specially requested to publish a brief purport of this as well as of the notice previously published successively for two months in their columns.[2]

2. A biography of Swami Dayanand was written by Lajpat Rai in 1898, the introduction to which is printed in this volume in section 9, sub-section 4.

5. Is It a Christian Government?[1]

Sir, Government is a body of persons combining together for preserving peace and order in a country, respecting the human rights of its subjects and promoting their welfare in every way. In fact, it ought to be to its subjects what a true father is to his offspring. A conscientious father feels the outrage on his subjects' daughters as a direct insult to his own. He should feel for his ryots for their hunger and thirst as a father feels for his own children. He should shed tears at their misery and smile with them in their joys. He should mourn with them in their losses and be rejoiced at their successes. He should learn to find his own prosperity in that of his subjects. He should consider himself united with them as one person like the two heads of Janus.

The 'Divine Right' of kings has a beautiful trait about it which is not often seen at a superficial view. Conscientious kings take their commission direct from God. They are appointed to give even-handed justice to those placed under their charge in accordance with the will of God. The responsibilities of a Government are very heavy. To govern well is the most difficult and noblest of

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 14 May 1890.

all acts which this world can boast of. It is only by the honest performance of their heavy and weighty duties that kings are entitled to be placed on a platform higher than that of ordinary mortals. This is the genesis of the divine right of kings.

In several respects, the advent of the English in India has done a world of good. The security of life and property is marvellous as compared with that in the days of Mahomedans and Sikhs. We can travel from place to place without much difficulty and inconvenience. There are now no Aurangzebs and fiery Sikhs who can plunder us at their own sweet will, with no fault on our part but that of getting too rich. We can talk with a friend at the farthest corner of India by post or telegraph. The wonders of modern discoveries have been opened to our view in schools and colleges. Roads have been made and canals dug for the public benefit. Courts have been opened whose professional duty is to hold the scale between party and party, sect and sect, religion and religion.

In our opinion the shortcomings of the administration can rather be ascribed to defects in the machinery than in any bad intentions on the part of the rulers. Can it be believed that our Queen Empress has not the welfare of her subjects deep at heart? Can it be said with any show of reason that the great men sitting in the Parliament are not actuated by the purest motives and the noblest feelings? Sometimes they may err on account of the insufficiency of the information laid before them, but their heart is ever yearning to help the poor and the needy. Will a people who have gained their birthright of freedom by so many struggles hesitate a moment to extend their helping hand to their fellow subjects in need, if they are convinced that the remedying of the latter's grievances lies in their power? They have the glorious traditions of their own country to stimulate them in their efforts to help out a nation from the pit of degradation. An individual who has himself seen and realized the importance of light will try to lead others to its refulgent ways. And what is true of individuals is equally true of nations.

Englishmen have also a very high ideal of virtue set forth in the words of the scriptures. Did not Jesus of Nazareth say in clear words that to die for others is the highest of all good? Did he not tell his followers that if a man looks at a woman with evil eye, he has already committed adultery with her in his own heart? And have they not got practical examples of these teachings in the life of the late Father Damien who struggled hard among the lepers with the sole object of bettering their conditions, and also, although repeatedly warned by his friends to take sufficient precautions, fell at last a victim to the same disease, but who still continued to work with the same cheerfulness and alacrity as he had shown before, till the relentless hand of death removed him from the stage?

The defects existing in the machinery of the Government of India can

well be illustrated by the recent occurrences which have happened at Amritsar, where they are the most to be regretted as that city is held most sacred by the Hindus, and especially by the Sikhs, who look upon it with the great reverential eye as the Christians do upon Jerusalem. Is there any law, we emphatically ask, on the statute book of India which permits the taking of descriptive rolls of young women of tender ages in public streets before the very eyes of their parents? If such there is, it should be immediately expunged from the official records, for it is a standing shame to a civilized Christian Government like ours. My feelings of decency were terribly shaken when I read the other day in the extraordinary issue of *The Tribune* that in the descriptive roll taken of Ved Kaur, a girl of 19, the immoral statement is recorded that "there is a mole on her breast." We think such outrages on women's chastity are not permitted in any other civilized country. What offence, again, had poor Gandevi committed for which she was dragged weeping to a dried pond by the police officials, where these devil incarnates "took indecent liberties" with her person? Oh, should not a high-minded person weep over these wrongs? The poor girl herself did not, for very shame, take food for two days. Is it not horrible that a young girl of 20, of the most sacred caste of Brahmins, whose very presence strikes awe into the mind of the religious Hindu, should have been thus brutally handled by the police officials of the lowest class whose very touch prohibits the body of a twice born? And what offence had poor Gandevi committed? Simply because her father had once been imprisoned for what offence nobody can tell! Surely in this case, the Christian precept has been actually acted upon—that the sins of fathers shall be visited upon their children. And certainly Mr. Warburton[2] is trying hard to put this precept of the Bible into practice in the very centre of Hindu piety and religion. Would he have permitted such outrages upon European girls? Is it not an act of ungratefulness and shamelessness on his part to allow such atrocities on the persons of those on whose bounties he is fed and from whom he borrows large sums of money to make his two ends meet?

Is he acting on his own responsibility in thus taking the descriptive rolls of young girls in thoroughfares, or is he acting under orders?

We believe the former alternative is true as he has already been known for his high-handed doings in the matter of the detection of criminals. He firmly believes that the Inspector-General and the Government will support him in every way, should he happen to be under a cloud, for he is proud of his so-called sagacity in the detection of crime. Would that we had here now a conscientious Governor like Lord Reay or a bold Lieutenant-Governor like Sir Charles Aitchison. Does not Mr. Warburton deserve immediate dismissal for

2. District Magistrate of Amritsar.

these atrocious acts which are sure to bring the censure of the Parliament down upon the head of the Government of India? In our opinion he deserves a stronger punishment than dismissal, for he has boldly set at naught the standing order of the Government of India prohibiting every Government servant from taking loans by using his official influence. Now the patriotic *Tribune* (the champion of the oppressed and friend of the poor) is ready to prove all this indebtedness on his part. Will the Government still keep aloof and not order his immediate suspension and a public inquiry? If this is not done, the people will believe that the Government is not at all sorry for these unfortunate occurrences, but on the contrary holds that the conquered must inevitably suffer at the hands of the conquerors.

Now let us pause to moralize. The origin and cause of all these misdeeds is that capable men are not appointed to responsible posts in the Police Departments. Raw and incapable European and Eurasian lads, who find the doors of all other departments shut against them, are thrust upon the Police Department. They are at once given the snug appointment of an Assistant District Superintendent Police, carrying a monthly salary of 3 or 4 hundred rupees, for which they have no other fitness than that of abusing their subordinates and the general public in the filthiest language possible. Educated, honest and warlike races of the Punjab are shut out from these posts simply because the Government labours under the gross misconception of thinking them disloyal. But this policy of mistrust is not worthy of a civilized Government like ours. Have not our native armies fought heart and soul for the British cause in the Afghan and other wars? Do not the villagers worship their *Lat Sahib* (the Deputy Commissioner of their district) as the very incarnation of the deity? Have not the few natives who have been promoted to high posts in the Police Department justified their selection by the honest and loyal discharge of their duties? In our opinion, Deputy Inspectors in the Police Department should be recruited by competition from such F.A.s as are able-bodied and of good castes. Assistant District Superintendentships should be thrown open to graduates fulfilling the same conditions. And only Entrance men should be appointed as Sergeants. We do not see what reasonable objections can be made in such a system of recruitment. If educated and intelligent persons once get into the Police line cruelties and atrocities like those recently committed at Amritsar will become things of the past. If even the Head of the Department acts upon the wise maxim—fair deal and no favour—the machinery of Government will work smoothly without any hitch.

Alas, our shopkeepers have grown very degenerate in these days of *Kaliyug*, for even if they had a grain of self-respect in them, they would have checked the police's atrocious doings. Only a very hard-hearted and thick-skinned man can sit by when a tender girl of the highest caste is being treated so roughly by

the police ruffians. It is our firm belief that a nation which has no respect for its women can never rise in the scale of nations. If you do not respect your women, they will not feel their own high responsibility in forming the character of the rising generation, which will consequently sink deeper and deeper into the abyss of ignorance and cowardice. Respect your women so that they may learn to respect themselves. But this cannot be possible in a country where girls are married at the tender age of 6 or 7 years and sometimes even at 3. How can you dream of such a happy state of things under the domestic laws of society under which a girl is never given the chance of choosing her mate with whom she has to pass her life, but on the contrary her father makes the selection for her, and that again through agents (relatives or Brahmins) who have as little interest in the welfare of the girl as the man-in-the-moon? The only necessary qualifications are a high caste and a handsome inheritance, and these being secured, the father does not care to see whether the intended bridegroom is the ugliest being in the world both as regards mind and body. But this is a digression. Moreover, our countrymen are not wholly to blame for this loss of self-respect in themselves. Do you hope to find self-respect among wives where the biggest zamindar or the richest merchant can be grossly abused by a bit of a constable, and all this with impunity?

We hope the recent unfortunate occurrences at Amritsar will raise the just ire of our friend Mr. Pincott and of every other honest Englishman. Police reform is very badly wanted throughout the length and breadth of India. The police abuses the unlimited power given into its hands. We hope our kind Government will soon take steps to put a stop to its high-handed proceedings.

We believe Sir James Lyall, our kind Lieutenant-Governor, loves justice in the true sense of the word. We have every hope that he will soon order a searching inquiry into the serious charges brought against Mr. Warburton. Governor and Lieutenant-Governor should, in our opinion, be colour-blind so that they may have no regard for white colour and hence for caste and nationality. Therefore, it was that among the Greeks the Goddess of Justice was represented wholly blind.

The decisions of courts in the Dum Dum murder case, the shooting case in the territory of Kapurthala and several others, have already shaken public confidence in the justice of the British courts.

We hope our large-hearted Lieutenant-Governor will do something to restore that confidence by bringing the offenders to justice in the recent police oppression at Amritsar. He should set before himself the bright example of Lord Reay in the Crawford case.

We assure him that he will thus leave a better memorial in the grateful hearts of the Punjabis than the Lyall schools and colleges.

If the Government fails to mete out punishment to the offenders against justice, the people will naturally ask themselves—is it a Christian Government?

A Punjabi

6. Tribute to Kashinath Trimbak Telang[1]

Dear Sir, It does not require the sagacity and forethought of a sage to tell that the Hindu community is at this moment under the influence of an evil star. The death of the Hon'ble Kashi Nath Trimbak Telang[2] comes like a thunderbolt to crush the already depressed spirits of the Hindus. In him we have lost a revered leader, one of the savants who are the mainstay of Sanskrit learning in these degenerate times, a patriot to the backbone, a profound scholar and an eminent Congressman. India is mourning one of her best sons who has died at his post. He never forgot what he owed to dear Aryavarta. As a private gentleman, as a high and trusted Judicial Officer, as the father of a large family and as a patriot, he was an exemplar to his countrymen. The Punjab, with a heavy heart, bewails the loss of a patriot. It is a national mourning. The cry comes from the heart. Oh, for the country that has lost a Kashi Nath Trimbak Telang in the prime of his life! Poor India, not only the Governor of Bombay, even the *Pioneer* sheds tears over the loss.

Lajpat Rai

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 6 September 1893.
2. (1850-1893); Sanskrit scholar, author, social reformer, advocate and Congressman of Bombay; member, East India Association, 1880-85, and one of the founders of the Congress; member, Bombay Legislative Council, 1886-89; judge, Bombay High Court, 1889-93.

7. Insinuations against Arya Samaj[1]

Sir, It is a pity that a preacher of Pundit Siva Nath Shastri's[2] standing and position should have thought it fit to make certain insinuations against the

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 2 November 1895.
2. (1847-1919); Brahmo leader of Bengal who later joined the Indian Reform Association founded by Keshub Chunder Sen; founder-member of Indian Association (1876), Sadharan Brahmo

Arya Samaj which are quite unfounded.[3] Probably he has been misled by the interested statements of some people who are not well disposed towards the Samaj. As a member of the Arya Samaj, having some hand in the management of its affairs, I beg to give an *emphatic denial*[4] to the said insinuations. Arya Samaj does nothing more than the preaching of a definite creed based on the Vedas. It aims at the revival of Vedic religion and the reform of the Hindu community. As such it concerns itself with such steps as might be calculated to prevent the conversion of Hindus to Christianity and Mahomedanism. It might go further and invite the people of other religions to its own faith just as the Brahmo Samaj[5] does. It is simply ridiculous to find fault with the Arya Samaj in a matter like this. It comes with ill grace from a missionary who himself goes from place to place criticising the tenets of other religions and inviting people to his own. No doubt a Brahmo might look with indifference upon the conversion of Hindus to other forms of religion (Christianity and Mahomedanism) so long as the Hindus do not accept the Brahmo faith, but the Arya Samaj cannot follow its example in this respect. The Arya Samaj does not preach or claim to establish and propagate a new religion. It simply aims at the reform of the prevailing religion and the social customs of the Hindus. For it an unreformed Hindu is nearer than one who renounces the Hindu religion and completely goes over to an antagonistic faith. So long as he is a Hindu he is as good a brother as a member of the Arya Samaj because it makes absolutely no difference to him so far as his social status is concerned.

Pundit Siva Nath Shastri of course could not see this. To him every effort made to prevent the Hindus from falling a victim to the teachings of other faiths is fomenting discord amongst the people of different religions. He has nothing to say against the Christian Missionary who is making havoc in Hindu society and ruining families after families. He has nothing to say against the Mahomedan who is getting converts every day and abuses the Hindu religion in the most offensive language possible that can be used by man. Why go far for an illustration? Only listen to the open air lectures of some of the Mahomedan

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Samaj (1877), Chhatra Samaj (1879) and Sadhanasnram (1892); founder-editor of *Samalochak* (1877), *Tattwa Kaumudi* (1878) and *Indian Messenger* (1883); works include *Nirbasiter Bilap* (1868).

3. Addressing a meeting held to celebrate the Brahmo Samaj anniversary at Lahore on 25 October, Siva Nath Shastri had observed that the Arya Samaj, however much it might try, could never "bring back the primitive, the Vedic, Hindu days into India," and added that he was pained to hear that some Hindu leaders had been teaching the young men of their community to hate Mahomedans. He also made an appeal to the Arya Samaj "not to foment discord among the rival faiths and not to instil a spirit of irreverence in the minds of the rising generation."
4. Italicized in source.
5. A socio-religious organisation founded by Raja Rammohun Roy in Bengal in 1828.

preachers in the Anarkali street. No, Pundit Siva Nath Shastri has nothing to say against these, probably because his own faith is nearer to that of a Mahomedan and a Christian than that of an Arya. At the present moment he has less to fear from Mahomedans and Christians in making Hindus converts to Brahmoism than the Arya Samaj, and this is perhaps the secret of these insinuations against the latter. It is a misfortune that a born Brahmin should be so unmindful of the true interests of Hinduism and, not content with mere indifference towards them, should be so active in putting down those agencies which invite the Hindus to study their own religion before they forsake the time-honoured fold of the sacred faith of their great forefathers. If this is the only basis of Pundit Siva Nath's charge I am afraid the Arya Samaj shall have to plead guilty, but if there is something else behind his remarks which he was not pleased to disclose I can only assure him that his information is wrong. The secret of the whole thing lies in the fact that certain Brahmos of Lahore are at the present moment dissatisfied with the working of the Shuddhi Sabha, and they think that the Arya Samaj is at the bottom of it. But nothing can be further from the truth than this.

The Arya Samaj does sympathise with the work of *Shuddhi*[6] on the principles stated above, but it is sheer injustice to the leaders of the Shuddhi Sabha to give the credit of its work to the Arya Samaj. The leaders of the Shuddhi Sabha are Sikhs and the conversions made by the Sabha are towards Sikhism. This is again what is disliked by the Brahmos. They think that the Shuddhi Sabha is taking away the last morsel from them. All such people as had renounced the Hindu religion but were afterwards dissatisfied with the religion they had adopted were naturally expected to become Brahmos in course of time. The Shuddhi Sabha having reconverted them has removed that possibility and hence the displeasure of some of the local Brahmos who must have supplied wrong information to Pundit Siva Nath Shastri upon which the latter was led to base his remarks. I would like to make the matter still clearer but am afraid lest I may be encroaching too much upon your space. I will revert to the subject if you decide upon publishing the controversy in the columns of the *Tribune*.

Yours &c.,
3rd Oct. 1895 Lajpat Rai

6. *Shuddhi* is a Sanskrit word which means purification. In religious terminology it has been applied to (1) conversion to Hinduism of persons belonging to other religions, (2) reconversion to Hinduism of those who have recently, or at a remote period, adopted one of the other religions, and (3) reclamation, i.e. raising the status of the depressed classes.

8. A New Publishing Company[1]

Sir, I was rather sorry to read Sirdar Kishen Singh's[2] letter about the proposed Book Selling and Publishing Co. in the last issue of your valuable journal. Such a company may be started by all means as it is likely to help in the supply of good literature. But to start it with the express object of injuring an existing concern, especially when the proprietor of the latter has done immense service to the Province in diverse ways, is hardly commendable. Munshi Gulab Singh[3] has of late given so many proofs of his public spirit that I am confident that the promoters of the new company will do nothing to injure him or his business.

Yours truly,
Lajpat Rai

1. Letter to the editor published in *The Tribune* of 3 April 1897.
2. Father of Bhagat Singh and brother of Ajit Singh; came into contact with Lajpat Rai during the famine of 1897 and went to Nagpur as a relief agent; Superintendent of the Hindu Orphanage, Lahore.
3. A prominent publisher and bookseller of Lahore

9. Rebellion in Kafiristan[1]

The *Arya Gazette* (Lahore), of the 27th May 1897, publishes an article, contributed by Lala Lajpat Rai, one of the Editors of the paper, in which the writer remarks that the Kafirs are of Aryan origin and the descendants of the forefathers of the Indian Hindus.[2] The hills and plains of Kafiristan are full of evidences of an ancient civilization of a high order. The religion of the Kafirs still bears a close affinity to Hinduism: they wear the *choti* and perform the *havan*, whilst their modes of worship are the same as those of the Hindus. They are, however, a manlier and more handsome race than the latter, and only two years back owed allegiance to no living man. Indeed, they had been a free people since the creation of this world. They neither invaded any country nor

1. Reproduced from *Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab*, Vol. X, No. 24, pp. 435-6, N.A.I.
2. The Kafirs, who formed one of the dominant races of Kafiristan, later known as Nuristan, situated on the south-east border of Afghanistan, were converted to Islam in 1895 by Abdur Rahman Khan, the then Amir of Afghanistan.

permitted any man to enter theirs. Fate was, however, against them, and they have fallen a prey to British diplomacy. It was one of the provisions of the (Durand) treaty concluded between the British Government and the Amir of Kabul that Kafiristan should be under the "political influence" of the latter.[3] Now, in political parlance this means that the Amir might do what he liked with the Kafirs, and that no nation on the face of the earth could question His Highness's right to do so. Is it not a crying shame that the political powers of the present day should dispose of men like cattle, and apportion the world among themselves as if it were of their own creation? Today Europe rules the whole of this terrestrial globe, and in Africa and Asia the European powers are casting lots for God's earth and His creatures. They tell the world that the Almighty has entrusted to the Missionaries (*lit.* shepherds of Christ) the task of enlightening mankind, and that the Christian Kingdom will hoist the flag of civilization by preaching Christianity throughout the world. It is terrible, however, to think that this object is being effected by depriving mankind of their freedom and trampling underfoot the religions followed by them. Kafiristan has come in for a share of this "civilization", and, as a consequence, has lost its independence. The Amir has, with the permission of the people of England, overrun this country and reduced its inhabitants to a state of slavery. The Kafirs are a brave race and would have beaten the Afghans in a hand-to-hand fight. But they could not stand up against the fire from the rifles and guns supplied annually to their enemy by the British Government. The *Jehad* led against them by the ruler of Kabul has accordingly ended in the extinction of this ancient people. The writer then goes on to say that although hundreds of Kafir villages were burnt down, innumerable places of worship levelled to the dust, thousands of people massacred and the survivors sold as slaves, the whole of Kafiristan could not be brought to embrace the Mahomedan religion. The Commander-in-Chief of the Amir's army then resorted to torture, threats and promises to induce the Kafirs to embrace Islam. This has been the end of Kafiristan, and the last independent Aryan race in Asia has been exterminated with weapons purchased with money realized from the Hindus. The writer adds that he has been led to make these remarks by hearing a report to the effect that a rebellion has broken out in Kafiristan and that its inhabitants are fighting with the Amir's men. He advises the Hindus to take a lesson from the Mahomedans, who regard the Sultan of Turkey as their Caliph, pray for him, raise subscriptions for the Cretan Mahomedans and sympathise with the ruler of Kabul. The Hindus in like manner should see if they cannot do anything for the Kafirs.

3. The Durand treaty, named after Sir Mortimer Durand, was concluded in 1893, fixing the boundary between Afghanistan and the North West Frontier Province of British India.

9
GREAT MEN OF THE WORLD
I. Giuseppe Mazzini

Giuseppe Mazzini[1]

Introduction

My young friends, today I am going to narrate to you the true story of a European patriot. A true story, as you would realize, is always more fascinating and purposeful than an imaginary one. As you must have observed, in God's scheme of things the world comprises all sorts of people. If one man is affluent, another is indigent. There are bright ones as well as total duds. Healthy ones exist along with the feeble-bodied and the diseased. Some are pious and virtuous while others are downright wicked and dyed in the darkest hues. But in this mass of humanity there are some rare individuals who stand out. They dedicate their lives to the service of the people, regarding their joys and sorrows as their own. They display great courage in facing odds and remain steadfast through thick and thin to the cause they choose for themselves. Such people are not unique to a particular place or time, nor do they belong to a particular community. Down the ages such rare persons have taken birth in every country and in different periods. Because of their intellectual attainments and acumen, extraordinary courage, sense of dedication, frugal habits and other qualities of head and heart they stand apart from others and are held in high esteem akin to the messiahs, *avatars* and members of the divine hierarchy. People take pride in following in their footsteps and erect monuments in their honour to perpetuate their memory. They reverentially follow their teachings extolling them to the level of sages. In the religious domain people elevate them to the level of prophets, *avatars, mahatmas, devatas* and the like who founded new religions. The foundations they lay down hold good for perpetuity and their coin gains currency for all times. Kingdoms vanish into oblivion, revolutions occur and vanish, but the hold of these great souls lasts over the people for eternity. A vast majority of the people are ready to shed their blood for them. There are instances when at the behest of religious leaders the struggle between different

1. Lajpat Rai, *Giuseppe Mazzini—A Biography* (Lahore, 1896). Extracts. (Original in Urdu)
   This was the first of the five biographies written by Lajpat Rai in the series "Great Men of the World" started by him in 1896.
   G. Mazzini (1805-1872); Italian patriot and nationalist who worked, mostly while in exile, for the unification of Italy under a republican government; exponent of European federation and internal liberties; imprisoned several times and twice sentenced to death; member of the Triumvirate of the short-lived republic in Rome in 1849; founded several organizations including Young Italy, Young Europe and Young Switzerland and started several journals including *Giovine Italia (Young Italy), L'Italia del Popolo* and *Pensiero ed Azione*; wrote *Doveri dell'uomo* (1860), an ethical treatise dedicated to the workers of Italy.

sects for ascendancy has turned gory red. However, such exalted personalities are not confined to the world of religion alone. Off and on such persons are born in the world of science too. Such persons have dispelled darkness from the world with the dazzling light of their intellect. Falsehoods which had assumed the form of truths over the long period of thousands of years at last disintegrated in the glare of their intellect. People's thinking underwent, under their influence, a radical change. In fact, the very course of national life was given a new direction by them. You must have read how, while grazing cattle, Newton discovered the law of gravitation. You must have also read that the people of Europe and also the people in many parts of Asia believed that the earth was stationary. However, it was left to an extraordinary astronomer of Italy[2] to prove conclusively that the earth was not stationary. The inventors of railways, the telegraph and the printing press transformed the very mode of life, so much so that it became difficult to imagine what would have been the mode of life without these inventions.

Besides the intellectual and religious fields in which extraordinary personalities loomed large, the political field, too, was not devoid of outstanding personalities. As you know, in the political sphere countries often undergo a sea change. If a country is free today, tomorrow the same country may be shackled in slavery. Similarly, other things may also operate in the reverse gear. This is how the whirligig of time operates. It is because of such phenomena that people of extraordinary merit appear on the horizon. Let us think of a country which has lived in slavery for centuries, whose rulers regard its inhabitants as their personal property and consider their ability, their wealth, their labour as meant exclusively for their own benefit. They behave as if the very word liberty does not exist in their vocabulary. It is beyond the imagination of such enslaved inhabitants that they would ever become free, and that they would rule over their own land and enjoy the fruits of their labour. If willy-nilly they want a change, they are haunted by the fear that a more powerful ruler may subjugate them by supplanting the existing ruler. In such an atmosphere of despondency and gloom suddenly a man is born who with an ardent love for his country and patriotic zeal serves as a beacon light to others. A man of such ilk is endowed with a sense of dedication to his country, his sole mission in life being to liberate his country. He places his mission before his countrymen, loud and clear, as if by the beating of drum. No travail he suffers for his country, is too great for him. Every hardship disappears before his dauntless courage, and, as if waking up from a bad dream, the country falls into step with him, and in the end it gains freedom.

2. It was, in fact, Polish astronomer Nicolas Copernicus (1473-1543) who proved that the earth moved around the sun. He studied the stars from a tower in Frauenburg, Germany.

Today I am going to narrate the story of such a man who was not only a great politician but also a deeply religious man of lofty character. His speeches and writings carried conviction and inspired confidence. Though in his lifetime Europe failed to give him his due, today Europe with one voice recognises him as one of the most outstanding men of the nineteenth century, head and shoulders above the rest. People in all walks of life sing songs of praise for him. This man, Mazzini, was worthy of the highest esteem and his name will be remembered as long as Italy exists on the map of the world.

At that time Italy was still faced with formidable problems, suffering from a hangover of the previous century when it was the victim of foreign oppression. It was a country in which the word freedom had been expunged from its dictionary. What to say of sympathy, there was no love lost between the people of one region and another. The country was so much divided that while one region reeled under the tyranny of one oppressor, another region faced humiliation at the hands of another oppressor. The most heinous sacrilege was committed there in the name of religion and iniquity was the order of the day. Cowardice and slavery had seeped into the blood of the people. It was a country where the mercenaries of another country ran amuck. Today the same country is free and united mainly due to the might of one man's sword and another man's power of pen.[3] Today the people of Italy are basking in their newly won freedom as slavery has disappeared like the mist under the sun. Today Italy is prosperous and is counted among the civilized countries of Europe. Just imagine, it was only fifty years ago that the political map of Italy was painted in different colours, differentiating one region from another. But today it is painted in only one colour. Fifty years ago Italy cowered under the clutches of Austria and France. Today it is its own master and is free to play its role on the political chessboard of Europe like any other free country. It is the result of the sacrifices made by thousands of sons of Italy who laid down their lives to liberate their country. Their efforts would have come to naught but for the strivings of a man of the pen and another man of the sword who were in the vanguard of the freedom movement. Today I will narrate to you the story of these two persons cast in the heroic mould who led the country to freedom. Their lives were not only eventful and captivating but they also hold lessons for us. Their lives are fascinating not only because they faced heavy odds but also because they set examples of bravery, fortitude and living up to high principles. These two gallant sons of the soil provide ample proof that perseverance in itself is a reward and that it never goes in vain.

Those who want to see the higher reaches of patriotism in its full splendour can do no better than to study the lives of these two men, which can also have

3. The reference was to Garibaldi and Mazzini respectively.

a salutary effect on our own lives and whose sheer emulation by us can enable us to overcome our own shortcomings and aberrations.

To start with, I would like to give precedence to the life of Giuseppe Mazzini for the simple reason, if nothing else, that he was the mentor of Garibaldi.[4] Though Garibaldi put a stamp of finality on what Mazzini had initiated, there is no doubt that Garibaldi would not have been able to give the movement a touch of finesse without Mazzini's mature political guidance.

Mazzini died about twenty-five years ago but those who are acquainted with English literature and read newspapers and journals know in what high esteem Mazzini was held by his contemporaries all over Europe. A prominent English writer, in an article published in *The Review of Reviews* (15th June 1894), refers to Mazzini in glowing terms. He writes, "Reading history of the century which is now coming to a close, we come across few names of the eminence of Mazzini who have gathered an aura of glory round their names."

In the political history of Europe it is difficult to come across any other name than Mazzini's which has left an indelible mark on the history of his country. Undoubtedly, there are scores of other leaders in different countries who forged ahead, finding a place on the top. They waged wars against the forces of oppression, defied the might of royalty, built up kingdoms and also razed them to the ground—heroic deeds indeed! However, by a quirk of fate their names can recede into the limbo of time, but Mazzini's name will always shine in the annals of his country. Others may be forgotten but the people at large will always remember him.

Mazzini stood by certain high principles and dedicated himself in all earnestness to the application of those principles in practical life. Such exalted examples are indeed rare in this miserable world of teeming millions. Maybe, his greatness was due to this very factor. But it is difficult to say whether the loftiness of his character was the cause or the effect of his greatness. He had a sharp mind motivated by lofty ideas. During his times there was no dearth of such people in the country as dissipated their energies and talent by truckling to the rulers of different principalities. Mazzini was not rich nor did he belong to the elite class. He did not enjoy the patronage of royalty or its allies. Among the populace he was no more than a run-of-the-mill type, like a grain of sand in a vast desert. But when this man, who was considered of no consequence, set his propaganda machinery in motion, the rulers felt so offended and became so hostile to him that they exiled him from his country. Not content with that they chased him across Europe like a hound chasing a quarry through the forest. The poor man at last took refuge in the streets of London. Operating from

4. Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882); Italian patriot and soldier; fought in the South American wars from 1836 to 1848. See also fn. 1 in the following sub-section.

there, he set forth on his mission dear to his heart. His clarion call awakened Italy from its slumber and infused new spirit into its sinking heart. His success was due to the loftiness of purpose and his personal character. His soul had a divine effulgence which is gifted only to a chosen few. Bismarck[5] welded the various principalities of Germany together into a powerful kingdom. But it may be noted that Bismarck had all the wherewithals of success including the support of his king. Above all, he had a mighty army at his command. But Mazzini had no such assets and had nothing to fall back upon. He had only the gift of the gab and the power of his pen to galvanize the people into action. More than that he had faith in himself which could even move mountains. Although he passed away twenty-five years ago, his name still shines like the morning star among his contemporaries. The writer who penned the article in *The Review of Reviews* wrote at another place, "If there was anyone who was prepared to stake his life in the Revolution of 1848 it was Mazzini." It seemed as if he would be victimized because of his views. Things came to such a pass that every day people expected to hear the news of his death. Mazzini was a true statesman, not cast in the mould of an ordinary mortal. He never succumbed to the adversities as ordinary mortals are prone to. His sense of patriotism was akin to religious belief. He had inordinate faith in himself and his convictions which he had tested on the touchstone of intellect and kept them within the limits of practicality. Even his writings testify to this. He had as much faith in the correctness of his convictions as in the Creator of the universe. He did not like to draw a wedge between the Creator and His humanity, be it due to religious reasons or political differences. It was his firm belief that a nation that believed in its Creator and the uprightness of the people deserved to be free and was sure to tread the path of progress. Extraneous circumstances and mundane considerations might temporarily block the people's path, but in the long run the people were sure to get success. Some letters published in a magazine towards the end of the nineteenth century reveal that he was a man of great determination. His patriotism was unshakeable. Since his very youth he had resolved that he would dedicate his life to the service of the nation. No desire, discomfort, privation or tribulation could divert him from the path he had set for himself. He stood firm like a rock on his course. His mother's love, father's wrath, the thought of marriage, the perfidy of friends, the treachery of comrades and the problem of earning a living came in his path but could not weaken his determination. In his own life he had setback after setback, but he ignored them. Like a yogi who while meditating upon God spurns worldly cares and is intent upon merging his soul with the Super Soul, Mazzini also merged his

5. O.E.L. Bismarck (1815-1898); German statesman and architect of German empire and its first Chancellor from 1871 to 1891.

whole being with the life of the nation. In the course of his life many women came forward to forge a matrimonial alliance with him. Some of them were worthy of him in all respects and so infatuated were they with him that they refused to marry anyone else. They lent him a helping hand in his laudable pursuits despite his being lukewarm towards them. Many a time he thought of marrying and having a life companion to lessen the vagaries of life. Then he argued with himself and concluded that he was not entitled to have a happy conjugal life in a country like Italy which was plunged into gloom. When a girl proposed to him pat came the reply that he was already married to his country and that it precluded the possibility of a second marriage. A girl was desperately in love with him but he evaded her on the plea that he was too poor to afford the luxury of marriage. His mind did not waver. Lucky was the country which produced such a worthy son. Surely, such a country had the right to cast off its shackles. It is due to such sons that various European countries hold their sway over distant lands encompassing many continents. People from different parts of the world stand before them with folded hands, kowtow to them, obey their writ and even fight for them as if they were their rulers.

We also live under the suzerainty of a European nation. They rule over us with impunity, treat us with supercilious disdain and exploit us to the hilt, laying claim over everything that belongs to us by right. Even our hereditary rajas and maharajas eat humble pie before them. Nobody dare defy them. Their country is situated thousands of miles away from ours, several seas and lands intervening between us. Though much smaller in number, they rule over us. They have discovered new routes and found new lands hitherto unknown to us. They have laid down a network of communications through which they acquire every moment the news about what is happening far and near. The awe-inspiring snowclad mountain peaks of the Himalayas, wild jungle beasts living in the countryside, hot and arid deserts, fathomless rushing waters of the Ganga, Brahamputra and the Sind hold no fear for them. Being astute and expert in the statecraft they hold sway over the teeming millions.

One would naturally like to ask the reason for this kind of glaring disparity. My simple answer to this is that they are great nations capable of producing sons like Mazzini. In the blood of every English child flows the spirit of patriotism which is, so to say, ingrained in his being. Every inhabitant of England, whether young or old, whether a child or a grandpa, regards the honour of his country as his own, strives for its progress and glory and considers himself responsible for its security. He singly and collectively carries the burden of its progress on his shoulders and considers the country's fall as his own fall. If the country gets a bad name he feels as if it is attributable to his own faults. He, therefore, considers it his duty to work actively for promoting the interests of his country. However, we should not make the elusive assumption that those

countries are free from shortcomings or aberrations, for it is only God who is perfect and free from any weakness. The point that I want to drive home is that these nations collectively have much more superior traits than ours.

A comparison between us and those nations may strike an odd note and may even look incongruous. However, conceding the fact that they have superior national traits to what we have, is their rule over us a blessing in disguise? It is difficult to give a definite answer to this question, for it can be both yes and no. Let us first take the negative aspect of the question and then touch upon its positive side. Foreign rule, howsoever good, is not a blessing, for it is innately wrong for one country to rule over another country. Government is a social institution which man has instituted for his own benefit. Man is born free but has imposed certain restrictions on himself for his own good. Though curbs are placed upon us from the very hour of our birth and it looks as if we are not independent, if we examine the matter closely, we will realize that we have imposed these restrictions upon ourselves of our own accord. We willingly submit to the restrictions and norms laid down by society because in our judgement we realize that they are for our own good. In other words, man willingly becomes an integral part of his society and adheres to its norms. But if a nation by force of arms imposes its will on another nation and subdues it, it cannot by any stretch of imagination be construed that such a thing can result in the benefit of the oppressed. Such an arrangement cannot take the form of a social institution. On the contrary, it would be a tyrannical imposition of an alien rule. According to the definition of nation it must possess its own land where it can form its own government for good governance. Such a land acquires a prestigious position and sanctity and is called the land of one's birth who guards it against the onslaught of any aliens on it. Accordingly, the rule of a foreign power, howsoever good, efficient and benevolent, is undesirable and tantamount to one man putting the yoke of slavery on the neck of another man. One nation has no right to impose its will upon another nation through brute force. If a subjugated nation fails to rebel against such aggrandizement it only shows that its long-term slavery has impaired its sense of self-respect and blunted its power to understand the reality and realize the truth. By this criterion, foreign rule howsoever good cannot take the place of self-rule. Connivance in or acceptance of foreign rule is a sign of human degradation. It weakens man's willpower and reduces him to the level of a captive animal. Love for an enslaved country and respect for its habitants are not compatible. The prevailing conditions in India make us believe that the present rule has its own advantages and that we should be grateful to the Government for it. Our duty towards the nation should enjoin us to be on the right side of the Government. Even if at heart we are opposed to the Government our stance should be clear. We should not have a feeling of animosity towards the Government and be deceitful to it,

rather we should wish it well. We should not play traitor to the Government on the sly but serve it heart and soul. It is implied that our interests and those of the Government are identical and not conflicting. If we act contrary to the interest of the nation and profess to wish the well-being of the Government, we will be indulging in a blatant lie and will be considered downright wicked and devoid of any sense of shame. Nobody will be prepared to take us at our word and rightly so. A man who can sell his country for a pot of gold and gladly bear the stigma of being called a traitor will not hesitate to betray the Government to which he professes loyalty. He will become a turncoat to the other Government too, changing overnight his loyalty into perfidy. Such a man has no principles to adhere to, perfidy and loyalty being just the means to gain his personal ends. He has no scruples. In other words, he can tilt the scale to one side or the other, bearing in mind the gain that will accrue to him thereby. No government can ever gain by the actions of such a person however purposeful he may claim them to be. Such a person is not worth a straw.

However, it is necessary to be explicit about how we can promote our national interest being at the same time faithful to the government of the day.

At the outset it should be stated that no country can become independent unless it has attained the same level of education and civilization as the country dominating it. Education is a great national asset. Those nations which are better educated than we are sure to gain ascendancy over us whether in war or peace. Just as in a debate a man better equipped in education and such like attributes can score over his rival, in the same way a nation having better national assets scores over another nation. This is borne out by the history of the world. The Romans at the peak of their power overran all the neighbouring countries which being steeped in ignorance were inferior to them. The same thing happened to the original native population of America. Similarly, small nations of Europe have dominated over the large Negro populations of Africa. A small country like Japan, due to the educational and technological advancement, brought large tracts of a vast country like China under its control. Nearer home, Great Britain holds India under its sway because of its educational advancement and other attributes.

When the British came to India Muslims were ruling over the country. Although there were Hindu kingdoms in many parts of the country, it is not unlikely that had the British not come to India, Hindus would have extended their sway over still larger parts of the country. But it seems that these Hindu kingdoms would not have been able to stand against the British for long because of the latter's superior educational attainments and uncanny statecraft. Prior to the advent of the British, when pitted against Muslims, the martial sections of the Indian population had given ample proof of their valour and fighting skill. Over the centuries there was no period in Indian history when the Hindus did

not fight for freedom. At times they succeeded and sometimes they were defeated. But their valour and the might of their arms could not match European military skill. The Muslims conquered India because those days they excelled the Hindus in military skill and were fired with religious zeal. The Hindus lost their freedom because of their religious degeneration, their religion being riddled with superstition and false outworn shibboleths which made them unfit to face harsh realities.

Whenever Muslim rulers availed themselves of the advancement in education they gained ascendancy, and when they relied only on their valour they met with defeat at the hands of the Hindus. As the trend was, it seemed that the Hindus would be able in course of time to cast off the Muslim yoke. As history tells us, the Sikhs in the Punjab and the Marathas in Maharashtra had carved out their own independent kingdoms. But when different forces were trying to gain ascendancy in the country, even at that time four or five European nations meddled in the affairs of the country, and of these the British in course of time forged ahead and were able to spread their brand of education and culture throughout the country. Perhaps this is what God wanted and we were inclined to follow it.

Secondly, education and culture are essential ingredients to foster independence. They are basic to the creation of peaceful conditions in society. Such conditions are being gradually developed by the British in India. However, the progress that our country has so far made in the fields of education and culture leaves much to be desired. There are wide gaps which must be filled in the interest of the country. It is time the country realized its requirements and set about bringing a change in the educational system. There is also some hope of the people taking interest in this direction.

Thirdly, as things are, we look up to the British Government for everything and are completely dependent on it, so much so that we are eager to imbibe even the English culture. We have come to believe that the British government is the fountain-head of all our requirements.

Fourthly, we labour under the illusion that the British Government is the best of all the European Governments, and that it is the least despotic of them all.

However, there are other considerations too which make us tilt to the side of this Government. But we should remember that we cannot win the Government's favour by denigrating our own country. It is true specially with regard to the British Government which is shrewd enough to see through the game. Rather than carping about things we should take the opportunities by the forelock and tailor our education and other things to meet the needs of the situation. We should critically re-examine our religious tenets and foster a spirit of independence and social welfare in the people. It is also equally important

that we develop our economic resources and the means to minimise dependence on other countries in the spheres of trade and industry. In this connection priorities should be fixed as follows: one, intellectual and educational freedom, two, religious and moral freedom, three, economic freedom relating to trade and industry and, four, national unity. Until we take care of the first three we won't be able to reach the fourth stage, although it is essential for the first three stages also. It is only by achieving these that we can aspire to national independence. We must realize that our Government is very shrewd and fully understands everything. As we progress along the above lines the Government will gradually relax its hold upon us for it knows full well that a developing country which is not economically or culturally static cannot remain under the stranglehold of a foreign power for long. Until we prove by our thoughts and actions that we are determined to gain freedom, try hard as we may, the Government will not grant us even an iota of freedom. But when the Government realizes that we are fit to govern and can wrest freedom from its hands, you can rest assured that no power on earth can deprive you of your freedom. Thus the first thing we have to do is to deserve freedom and also learn to perform our duties perfectly well. After that we have to devise ways and means for attaining freedom. The people who know how to strive for freedom cannot remain slaves for long.

Fortunately we have only one ruler governing the entire country and only one foreign language to contend with. The railways and the posts and telegraph system prevailing in the country also help in laying the foundation of political unity. We have not to face the problems which had to be faced by the Italian patriots of those days. In 1869 Mazzini had realized that his country had to go a long way so far as political education was concerned. But in this respect our condition is still worse, rather pathetic, for we have to start from scratch. Our national unity, social progress and political freedom are dependent on the educational system. In fact, the question of education looms large before us as a formidable problem. We should address this problem seriously and think what kind of education should be given to the people, by what means and how to proceed about it. We shall have to do our best to solve these questions and surmount the difficulties that might come in the way. This demands great sacrifices on our part. A nation cannot progress without the people making sacrifices. Those who want to take up this sacred duty should prove, by thoughts, conduct and deeds, that they are ready to serve the country by living in penury and are prepared to eat coarse food, wear cheap clothes, and live in hovels if it comes to that. They should firmly believe that the entire wealth of the world has no meaning for them as they have decided to stake their lives for the sake of their country. Facing privations while discharging their duty towards their country they should be prepared even to disown their kith and kin. Unless they

are prepared to go to the extremes, even the word freedom would be a taboo for them. They should carry the people with them and help them to acquire education. They should not just pay lip service but act as zealots. One must remember that a sacrifice made in the name of the country works like electricity and galvanizes the nation into activity. It draws other persons like a magnet. If a rich man donates two lakhs for a charitable cause in order to win kudos or the Government's goodwill it involves no sacrifice, although it is better to donate something than not to donate at all. One should give money generously for the welfare of the country and bear the consequent hardships, if any, with a smile. Even if a handful of such well-meaning persons come forward it augurs well for the future of the country. Even today our country is not lacking in such exemplary people, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan being one of them among the Muslims. In the Hindus also there are several such people. My object in writing these pages is to present before you such examples for your edification, and if by my writing I can induce you to emulate them I will consider that my effort has been well rewarded. You may also tread the thorny path of sacrifice in the cause of the country and put on a pedestal those who have already trodden this path.

Om, Shanti! Shanti! Shanti!

Lajpat Rai

Birth and Early Education

Giuseppe Mazzini was born on 22nd June 1805 in a small hamlet of Genoa in Italy. His father was a respectable apothecary and professor of anatomy in the local college. His mother was a very intelligent, understanding and beautiful woman. Although she loved all her children equally she had special fondness for Mazzini. She stood by him all through her life, even during the days of his exile. As a child, Mazzini was physically very weak and delicate. At the age when children start running he could not even stand up properly. His father got an easy chair made for him in which he would keep sitting in his mother's room. When he was six years old he started standing up and also began to walk slowly in the front garden of his father's house. Once when he was going out with his mother a remarkable thing happened which remained etched for ever in her mind. After going some distance Mazzini suddenly stopped and began to look at a beggar sitting on the stairs of the village church. He became so still that his mother thought he was scared by the old man's white beard, tattered clothes and stick. She was going to lift him up in her lap when he freed himself from her grasp and rushing to that old man clung to him and began to play with him. He also insisted on his mother to give him something to eat. On seeing this the old man's eyes were filled with tears and touching the child's head affectionately he said to his mother, "Madam, shower all your love and affection on him. When he grows up he will love the whole humanity." His mother often narrated this incident to others with tears welling up in her eyes. From his very childhood Mazzini had great sympathy for the poor and the afflicted. He consoled and helped all such unfortunate persons as were despised by people and whom nobody wanted even to touch. If his mother ignored a beggar's entreaty he started crying and insisted that he should be given something and invariably had his own way. As the saying goes, coming events cast their shadows before them. It is not surprising that one who even in childhood displayed such admirable traits should on growing up try to alleviate the sufferings of oppressed nations. Mazzini as a child was serious and pensive by nature. He had no love for toys. As regards his education, although his father was impressed by his intelligence, he did not want, because of his feeble health, that he should bear much strain of studies. Yet his mother, to her great surprise, discovered one day that Mazzini, when he was only four years old, had on his own learnt to read. On enquiry she came to know that he used to listen to others and assimilate whatever they spoke. According to her, he used to save some part of his pocket money to buy books for needy students. Sometimes he gave away even his clothes to them. On festive occasions he asked for books as gifts for himself. He was very much fond of hearing stories but did not want to hear the same story again. Once when he was hardly five a distant relative of

his visited his house and finding him engrossed in studying a map with books lying all around him predicted that one day he would be a great man and earn name and fame. Later the same relative wrote to his mother that he was born under a conglomeration of lucky stars, which was a rare phenomenon. His prediction about the boy proved true.

In the beginning Mazzini studied under an old priest who taught him only Latin. But being passionately fond of reading, he read all the books relating to the French Revolution available in his father's library. At the age of 13, he was admitted to the Genoa University where he distinguished himself as a brilliant student. He was loved and held in high regard by all. He was quite decent and fair in his dealings with others. He was a man of simple nature and frugal habits and was always willing to help others.

When Mazzini witnessed the miserable condition of his country and its oppression by other powers, he was greatly moved and all his happiness disappeared. As a mark of grief he started wearing black clothes. This mood of his persisted for such a long time that his mother feared he might commit suicide. However, he had learnt the lesson of patriotism in his college days and history bears testimony to this that his lesson always remained fresh in his mind.

For some time he studied anatomy and medicine with a view to becoming a doctor. He made such a deep study of these subjects that he even surpassed his father in knowledge. Sometimes he also wrote out class lectures for his father. But soon he gave up the idea of becoming a doctor as he hated dissecting a human body and found it so disgusting that sometimes he fell ill. Ultimately, he opted for law though he had a natural aptitude for literature. At the age of 13 he gained such great literary reputation and his writings became so effective that the famous literary association of Shersevna invited him to become its member, not realizing that the person whom they had made this offer was still a boy. Sometimes people are forced to go against the grain because of certain circumstances and it is rightly said that man is a slave to circumstances. Mazzini, who had strong literary leanings and wanted to be a literary figure, was compelled by circumstances to take up law. He became a law graduate after five years of study and obtained a licence to practise law. His parents felt happy on his becoming a lawyer and hoped that he would shine in his profession and become prosperous. But they did not know that he had no fascination for wealth. He actually operated over a much wider field and was destined to become the nation's advocate and make a permanent place for himself in the history of the world.

Today so many reputed and prosperous lawyers would be prepared to exchange their wealth with Mazzini's name and fame. In fact, very few people earn so much name, fame and goodwill as Mazzini did. But he attained this

position by facing untold hardships and doing hard work over a long period. Few among us can equal him in these respects.

Those days in Italy a new entrant to the profession of law had to work without any remuneration for two years during which he had to fight cases of the poor free of charge. Within a short time Mazzini became so famous that the poor flocked to him in large numbers. But his mind was engrossed in other things. There was a secret society in Italy named Carbonari whose main function was to raise the flag of revolt against the Government and procure arms for the purpose. Mazzini became a member of this society, although at heart he did not agree with its cult of secrecy. Since no other society professing such an objective existed at that time and he did not have the means to form a new society he had no option but to join it. In this society he came into contact with such people as unlike him did not have high ideals before them but were prepared to work earnestly to achieve the society's objective. They were not afraid of death or banishment. They had courage, determination and perseverance and never despaired. If one link of the chain was broken they immediately tried to replace it by another. Mazzini realized the value of such an organization and gladly prepared himself to work for it. The members of this society were required to take an oath of loyalty. They also had to contribute a heavy sum as the membership fee, which was beyond the means of a poor man like Mazzini. But he never grudged it. He believed in spending money liberally for a good cause. He held that if someone was convinced about the justness of a cause he should be prepared to spend money for it and that if he lagged behind in this he would be committing a sin. In our country people are unfortunately so much attached to their riches that they do not care even if a good cause suffers because of the lack of funds. It may bring bad name to their families or the country at large, but they keep their money close to their chests. Similar was the mentality prevailing in Italy at that time because of which Mazzini was not happy with his countrymen. He was also firmly of the view that a society which looked to foreign powers for its political liberation could never succeed. Many of his compatriots had great faith in the French people who swore by freedom and liberty. But Mazzini believed that freedom gained with outside help could not endure for long.

Arrest and Imprisonment

Around June 1830, Mazzini was entrusted by his society, Carbonari, with a special work. But the police got wind of it and he was put under arrest and incarcerated in the Fort Savoy. His father met the Administrator of Genoa and enquired on what charges his son had been arrested. He was told that his son

was a promising young man but loitered on the road at night without telling about his aim, and, the Administrator added, the Government did not like such persons whose minds it could not read.

He was put in solitary confinement with the sky above, the sea below and the peaks of the Alps in front. He kept gazing at the scene and thought about his Creator. After three months he was given three books to read—the Bible, Byron's poetry and one more book. While leaving home he had a foreboding that he might be arrested and therefore he had told his family that in his correspondence with them he would be using certain code words to inform them how he was faring and they could also use those words to tell him what was happening in the outside world. He came to know that his arrest had created a great stir in his society, the Carbonari, and tried to know more details but could not succeed. Future prospects, as he could see, were gloomy. Struggling with his own ideas in solitary confinement, he thought he would launch a new movement when he got an opportunity to do so. He realized that it was not only necessary to rid Italy of the foreign yoke but it was equally necessary to curb the internal dissensions as a result of which Italy had been divided into six principalities. Not only that, he thought he should also liberate the country from the stranglehold of the Pope because of which the country was living in the dark cave of ignorance and superstitions and which made it difficult to put the country on the road to progress. Political freedom, national unity and religious freedom were the three main objectives which he always kept in mind and for the realization of which he decided to form a new society. He was averse to working secretly and held that everything should be done openly. But he also realized that in his fight against the various powers secrecy and confidentiality could not be avoided altogether. Confined within the prison walls, he kept thinking as to what form the new society should take, what should be its rules and regulations, what kind of people should be inducted into it and how should it be associated with similar societies in other countries. At last he decided as follows:

1. The new society should be named Young Italy.
2. Its aims and objects should be made public.
3. Its members should not be required to take any oath.
4. Its members should work whole-heartedly for securing freedom of the country and establishing democracy and should be prepared even to lay down their lives for achieving these objectives.
5. Its members should consider it their duty to instil the idea in the minds of the people that they have to gain freedom by their own efforts and sacrifices and not with the help of any outside agency or power as only then they will be worthy of freedom.

Mazzini realized that the people of Italy had become degenerated but were not completely dispirited. Once the people woke up and were imbued with patriotic zeal, success was not only probable but certain. He recognized the fact, which showed his sagacity, that a nation could rise only on the strength of the brave. No sea, mountain or river could act as an impediment in its onward march and time and occasion were not important for this. He also realized that the rich and other respectable people could not be expected to join the movement in the beginning but they might join it later on.

Mazzini was convinced that a democratic government and political unity were essential for a nation's progress, and so he made them the main objectives of his new society, Young Italy.

An English writer has written that though Mazzini's love for Italy was like the love of a son for his mother, his love was not confined to Italy alone. His love was broadbased and extended over a much wider area, transcending the boundaries of his own country. He wanted to be counted among the leaders of European nations. His religious thoughts also had a touch of universality. He detested religious servitude as much as political slavery. He had only contempt for the Pope's outmoded shibboleths and teachings and wanted his country to be rid of this kind of religious tyranny.

Exile

After six months of imprisonment a judicial verdict of exile was passed against Mazzini following which he went over to France. There were many Italian exiles living in Lyons at that time and Mazzini mixed with them. At the instance of Louis Philippe, the king of France, these people were planning to invade a region of Italy. But the king's assurance which had prompted them to mount the invasion proved to be false as he issued a proclamation, which was widely publicized, that if a person who had been granted asylum in France made any military incursions into a country friendly to France he would be considered a criminal and proceeded against. Mazzini was forced to flee from Lyons and he took refuge in Marseilles from where he secretly carried on correspondence with his compatriots in Italy. It was here that he laid the foundation of the new society, Young Italy, and started a journal also by the same name. The members of this society took the pledge that come what may they would work for the liberation of Italy even if they had to stake their lives for it. The pledge was taken in the name of God and in the name of Italy. . . . Mazzini was the first to take this pledge. Many of those who took the pledge along with him became turncoats later on. But Mazzini remained steadfast to the pledge till the end of his life.

Mazzini also started the journal, *Young Italy,* through the medium of which he wanted to propagate his religious and political philosophy. Copies of this journal found their way into Italy through devious ways and they were read by a large number of people, sometimes even at the risk of life. Articles from this journal were reprinted in local printing presses and circulated widely. These articles had a salutary effect on the people. Young men, the majority of whom were students, started joining the organization, Young Italy, and their applications for admission to it came through those who were secretly selling the journal. The revolts also started mostly in those places which were hotbeds of the youth's activity. In Rome the people, fed up with the Pope's oppression, rose in revolt. Similar revolts started in other places also. These risings were not pre-planned but spontaneous. The urge for freedom became so intense that between the 2nd and the 23rd February, that is within a period of 23 days, twenty-five lakh Italians declared their independence from the Pope and Austria. In other places too similar scenes were witnessed—a do-or-die spirit pervaded throughout the country. However, the people unknowingly made one mistake. They provincialized the national movement, pushing it through local channels, with the result that the movement put on a local colour which considerably diluted its democratic spirit. The transitory Governments of these independent principalities erred in placing undue reliance on political assurances of the French Government and started ruling the principalities as separate entities. These principalities being at cross purposes with one another could not put up a joint front against the might of Austria, with the result that the national movement that was in the making failed to take off and the local struggles ended up as freak movements. Thus the whole movement practically came to naught. Every principality started thinking in terms of its own profit and loss and was caught in the maelstrom of French patronage to the exclusion of all others.

In the meantime, despite these setbacks Mazzini and his friends assiduously stuck to their own course. Working day and night they wrote their propaganda material, made copies of the same even if they had to work till late in the night and despatched them in bundles destination-wise. They also met travellers and Italian sailors and propagated their ideas among them. These political philosophers donned workers' dress in order to serve the nation in any capacity, living in the hope that one day their efforts would bear fruit. They lived and worked like the members of a fraternity and won kudos even from aliens for their diligence, ability and spirit of dedication. Most of the time they lived from hand to mouth as they had no regular means of livelihood. Whatever meagre amount of money they possessed had been earmarked for the nation. In spite of being destitute they were always cheerful and rarely struck a plaintive note, their tongues being alien to such utterances. Though poor, they considered

themselves affluent because they were living for a noble cause and were hopefully looking forward to the day of victory. Describing this, Mazzini wrote, "We spent these years in great travail but with great exuberance for the nation's cause. We were surrounded by enemies on all sides and every moment we feared for our lives. Sometimes even in our inner coterie suspects were detected. But there were many among us who unswervingly stuck to their duties and set fine examples to others. They did not do anything for personal gains but underwent suffering with smile for the nation's cause; they did it out of a sense of duty."

As a result, within a year the Young Italy became the most powerful organization of Italy. According to Mazzini, it was the victory of its principles. Within a short time some young men, completely lacking in personal resources and unknown to the people at large, assumed the leadership of Young Italy. Even the Governments of the seven principalities were scared of them and decided to crush them. Thus in the face of heavy odds Mazzini and his friends continued to work with caution and zeal. The various Governments becoming aware of their activities had announced handsome awards for giving information about the incriminating literature and those who were instrumental in smuggling it out of the country were threatened with dire consequences. Charles Albert, the king of Piedmont, issued a public warning to the effect that those who were found to be knowingly conniving at the existence of political culprits or failed to hand them over to the Government would be fined heavily besides being imprisoned for two years. It was evident that the people had risen against their Governments. This was the beginning of a struggle which Mazzini waged against tyrannical powers throughout his life. But when the Italian Government failed to curb Mazzini's propaganda machinery through these means it approached the French Government for help. The king of France was too willing to oblige the Government of Italy. For two years the police kept shadowing Mazzini but could not apprehend him. One day the police succeeded in tracking him down to his hiding place. But as it transpired a friend who was acting as Mazzini's double surrendered himself to the police and thus saved Mazzini from being arrested. Escaping the dragnet, Mazzini took refuge in Switzerland from where he made inroads into Italy with fresh preparations. But due to the treachery of a friend of his, General Ramari Noki, he failed in his mission. Those who had thrown their weight on Mazzini's side suffered greatly at the hands of Charles Albert. Among those who were incarcerated was Mazzini's best friend Jacob Raffiti who had to undergo great torture while in jail. As a ruse, once he was shown a paper bearing Mazzini's forged signature revealing the names of those who were actively associated with Jacob Raffiti in his so-called acts of sedition. Rafitti refused to believe that Mazzini could stoop so low. Though he had seen through the game he committed suicide the same day.

But his death did not diminish Mazzini's love for him, instead all his life the memory of this nation's martyr remained fresh in his mind. Eleven years later Mazzini wrote a book describing the lives of the nation's martyrs in which he alluded to Raffiti in heartrending terms and dedicated the book to him.

After these setbacks many people advised Mazzini to abandon the struggle. He was being denigrated on all sides and was being held solely responsible for the setbacks. Every day the news was pouring in that such and such people had been arrested or had given up the membership of Young Italy or had fled the field. The neighbouring independent states had also started threatening the Swiss Government and, to make matters worse, the funds and war materials of Young Italy were getting rapidly depleted. Its members did not have any regular means of livelihood. On the other hand, internal dissensions were also rife. In short, the future looked utterly bleak. But Mazzini did not give himself up to despair but doggedly continued doing his work without letting any travails dim his sense of duty. Mazzini always maintained that defeat and despair had no meaning for those who had taken the pledge of laying the foundation of a free nation and giving it a new lease of life. He believed that it was their duty to teach their countrymen the lessons of fortitude and forbearance.

New Activites

Mazzini perceived that his co-patriots had one serious flaw in their character and it was that they lacked perseverance. They started a movement but failed to bring it to a logical conclusion. There was a great difference between speech and action. Since under the conditions of slavery prevailing at that time in the country it was not possible to impart moral education through newspapers he decided to raise a corps of men who would teach the people to be hardy enough to face tyranny and oppression with a smile. He wanted them to develop in the people the never-say-die spirit, and if they failed to achieve their objective today they should try again tomorrow. Furthermore, they should be prepared to resist oppression under all conditions. These men, whose duty was to instil such a spirit in the people, should not feel disheartened by an initial defeat. Any such defeat should make no difference to them at all. Those days political activities had come to a standstill in Italy and the propagation of political ideas also had ceased. However, Mazzini thought that the exiles from various countries living in Switzerland should be brought together on one political platform, the idea behind it being that if like-minded people acted together it would become easy to propagate the ideal of freedom all over Europe. It was Mazzini's firm view that all nations of the world should with one voice declare that no nation should try to subdue another nation and that the political rights of every nation

should be guaranteed. If the security of one nation was endangered all other nations should act in concert to defend it. He, therefore, floated the idea of forming a political body consisting of representatives of all nations. In other words, it was intended to be an international body, a conglomerate of all nations. Mazzini wrote in an article that democracy meant that people should live together like family members so that an atmosphere of brotherhood could be created and people could live peacefully. Thus logically it followed that the causes which created discord among different nations should be eliminated. All people were agreed on this point. But then the question arose how to control the dynastic kingdoms which had perpetuated themselves since ages. Evidently, unity was essential to achieve the desired end and unity could not be achieved unless everybody made common cause and acted on the basis of some common principles. Bereft of principles nothing worthwhile could be achieved which could benefit the people. It would be like running a watch without a hairspring. Similar is the case with democracy. It cannot function properly unless like a machine all its components are well coordinated and work smoothly. It is also essential that each component should have the freedom to act independently without any external influence.

It is the foremost duty of a citizen to strive for the independence of his motherland. There can be peace and friendship only between the countries that are independent and can act of their own accord. It is futile to expect friendship between an independent country and a slave nation. Mazzini was optimistic enough to believe that a time would come when all the nations of Europe would become free and work together for the good of all and also become the means of spreading civilization and culture in all the four corners of the world. In accordance with these views Mazzini established another society by the name of Young Europe. This society was formed with the help of the exiles of Germany, France, Italy and Poland. It had the same objectives as elaborated above. But such was Mazzini's fate that he could never live in peace. Europe's imperial powers, particularly France and Italy, put pressure on the Swiss Government to banish Mazzini from Switzerland. But since the people of the province of Canton were inclined in his favour he could not be thrown out without giving any reason for it. At last on the basis of a trumped-up charge the Government alleged that Mazzini was the central figure in a political group which was conspiring to kill the kings of France and Italy. The ambassadors of France and Italy had a hand in concocting this story. The story would have been accepted to be true but for some Italian exiles who by chance met some secret agents of these countries from whom they procured some secret documents, which indicated that the whole story was fabricated. But despite this public exposure the Swiss Parliament banished Mazzini from Switzerland for life. But Mazzini remained unfazed and in defiance of the Government

orders continued to stay in Switzerland in disguise while the Government sleuths were all the time trying to catch hold of him. He would not have left Switzerland but some of his friends persuaded him to leave. In the middle of 1836 he decided to go to England. Towards the end of the year his mental condition became a cause of concern. He always remained mentally agitated. He could not shed the feeling that by abandoning the fight he was doing something wrong. This realization always tormented his mind. Referring to this period in his life, Mazzini wrote that even if he lived for another hundred years he would not be able to forget this period. He wrote:

> "A regular tug-of-war was going on in my mind in which my soul just escaped being defeated. I did not want to allude to this episode of my life but have done so thinking that it may give moral strength to the future generation whenever it may find itself in a similar situation. It was like a storm of doubt, diffidence and mental conflict which those dedicated to a cause have to pass through. Love has been a propelling force in my life and I have always pined for peace and happiness. I am also always optimistic if not for myself at least for others. . . .
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> "One morning as I got out of bed I felt very calm and peaceful as if I had been saved from some impending danger. Generally every moment of my waking hours used to be a moment of distress as after passing a sleepless night my mind was engrossed in worries. During the last few months my worries had increased manifold and begun to torment me. But that morning I felt as if out of benevolence nature was trying to console me. The rays of the morning sun invigorated my body and I was feeling buoyant and fresh. The first thought that came to my mind was that excessive brooding was the root cause of my worries. Now as I could think clearly I tried to understand the real aim of my life and again reflected on my philosophy of life. I realized that the philosophy of life was based on real happenings in society, and that actual events played a very crucial role in a man's life. Man having a questioning mind tries to understand the causes of particular events and in the light of that determines his philosophy of life. The Indian sages of yore emphasized the spiritual aspect of religion which advocated merging of the soul with the Super Soul which is a most distinguishing feature of the Hindu philosophy. Christianity lays emphasis on atonement of sin and preaches that one should bear the hardships of life with forbearance and fortitude, and that no one should try to escape them as they are part of life and because of which the world is called the abode of unhappiness. According to the Christian philosophy people should shun worldly pleasures in order to attain salvation. However, materialism of the eighteenth century pushed back our civilization by a thousand years as

people began to regard the world as an abode of pleasures just as idol worshippers regarded it in their own times. This was reflected in the philosophy of laissez faire, which meant everybody lived for himself. This was manifested in many forms. For instance, a war fought for material gains promoted hatred. This philosophy can also leave comrades-in-arms in the lurch. Once a country is victorious and its goal is achieved, it can desert its partners with impunity, leaving them to fend for themselves. Thus principles are forsaken when there is a question of personal gain even though it may lead to serious consequences and baneful effects. . . .

"If a man has a mission in life he can achieve it by adhering to certain high principles of life and can also lead others on the path of progress. What he achieves at the end of his life is the result of his perseverance towards his goal. Man's soul is immortal but how and when it makes progress depends on his own efforts. It is our duty to keep our soul pure like a temple. Arrogance and pride should have no place in this temple and if they sneak in they should be thrown out mercilessly. Only after purifying the temple, that is, our bodies, we should embark upon the study of life. This is essential for making spiritual progress. Thereafter we should try to know the shortcomings of the society in which we are born and understand to what extent we can remove them and also strive for it heart and soul. Such questions cannot be solved through academic discussions which are undertaken just for pleasure. Only a man who acts according to his conscience and has a sense of responsibility can find answers to these questions. His inner voice is sure to provide him right answers. Once a man has got right answers, no power on earth can prevent him from pursuing his goal. Love, hatred, indifference or any other thing cannot check him from moving forward. If he left halfway through a struggle it would be nothing but cowardice on his part and would indicate that he had no real love for progress.

"While incarcerated at Savoy I decided not to budge from the aim I had decided to pursue and remain steadfast to it till there was life in me. However, it would serve no purpose to dilate on these points. At that time I recorded in black and white all my thoughts and experiences. I also wrote down the thoughts which had given me mental peace and comfort. I took these papers with me to Rome but later they got lost in France. It is not possible for me to write them down again. Thus without any outside help I gained enlightenment and mental peace through religious beliefs to which history bears testimony. First I thought of God and then many notches down I thought of the soul which had guided me to the path of rectitude. I realized that life was something sacred which required dedication to and

performance of duty with full devotion. I also decided not to let any doubt or suspicion come near me and took a vow not to falter in the fulfilment of my objective. It was in this manner that I got rid of mental worry and gained peace of mind and also learnt that one should face hardships boldly and without any grudge. It was at this time that I bade goodbye to all the desires and expectations associated with my own self. In other words, I buried deep all those desires and cravings which, according to the Hindu scriptures, lead to attachment. But it did not mean that love as such had no place in my life. God knows that even in my old age my instinct of love has been as strong as in my youth. My spirit is still the same as it was then and now I have completely subdued my ego. However, I have always been denied happiness in life and in future too I do not think there will be happiness in my life. But I never cared whether I was happy or unhappy. I am grateful to God for having granted me this equanimity even in my old age, and am thankful to my friends also who helped me in keeping up that spirit. My sense of duty cannot be shaken in any way. The sun may shine brightly or dimly in the Italian sky but my sense of duty will never be impaired. The light of faith and love always shines in my soul and if that light is not reflected in the life of others I am not bothered about it."

The above writing indicates Mazzini's mental state at the time he had just arrived in England. The fact that he could maintain his religious fervour and honesty of purpose even when he was undergoing tremendous mental and physical strains redounds to his credit. He actually never bothered about his own health or happiness. If he referred to them in passing, he did so so that it should have a salutary effect on those who might be faced with similar problems in future. . . .

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From his childhood Mazzini had great sympathy for the poor and the needy belonging to his country and he always thought about them. He did whatever he could for the education of their children and for mitigating their suffering. Even during his stay in England he continued to serve them. He wrote:

"I should not only serve the common man but also work with him to achieve the desired end. It was only on coming to England that I realized how decent and selfless Italian workers were. I struck a chord with them bringing out their dormant qualities which brought me still closer to them. I often came across Italian children playing the violin or some other musical instrument on the streets of London. Sometimes I stopped and talked to

them. I learnt that they worked as domestic servants in British homes, and that they had been sent to England by their parents who had been offered handsome amounts of money by their music teachers in Italy who themselves earned a lot of money thereby. I was very much pained to know this which was sheer exploitation. I felt indignant and cursed Italian administrators and priests for reducing innocent children to a state of slavery. By giving them proper guidance they could have easily relieved their suffering and spared them the humiliation."

Mazzini formed an association for these hapless children and founded a school to impart them education so that when they went back to their country they could serve it as useful citizens. Very often the British masters of these children treated them harshly and beat them mercilessly so much so that on many occasions Mazzini had to sue them in law courts. Realizing that these children had now a mentor ready to come to their help, these exploiters relented a little. From 1842 till Mazzini left England in 1848 the school functioned regularly, its expenses being met mostly by Mazzini himself. He also took classes in the school. Writing about the school, Mazzini stated,

"During all these seven years the school provided moral and academic education to several hundred children. In the beginning these children were no better than savages and always lived in fear. But due to the kind treatment of their teachers they gradually became civilized and even thought of going back to their country. At night from nine to ten many of them stayed at my house and sang songs and played on their instruments. To begin with, they were taught the three R's, a little of geography and the art of sketching. Every Sunday all the students assembled at one place in the evening when they were given talks on the lives of illustrious sons of Italy and other subjects according to their level of intelligence. They were also taught the history of Italy. All this was done to pull them out of the dungeon of darkness in which they had been living so far. I taught them the rudiments of astronomy, a subject which I believe widens man's vision and has an element of divinity in it. It is my conviction that one should be taught astronomy at an early age. I very much like this subject and want to take a dip in its pure waters before I start the day's work. Most of the teachers of the school agreed with me generally on this issue. The teachers asked for no salary as for them their work was a labour of love. However, they earned enough money from their regular work to support their families. Every year in November we celebrated the school's foundation day and all the students, numbering about 200, were awarded prizes. On this

occasion the students themselves cooked the food and ate it together. They sang patriotic songs. We were overjoyed to hear these songs on a foreign land. It was also morally elevating. The moral education given to them also reached its crescendo on the foundation day. This education was different from the usual academic education. The children who had hitherto led a life of degradation started feeling that they were also respectable like other people around them. From among the Italian workers I selected some whom I assigned certain specific jobs relating to our motherland. We also established a workers' guild which also published a newsletter."

This was the first school of its kind established by Mazzini, which became a precursor to several such schools established later in almost all towns and cities of Italy. Thus even during the period of his exile Mazzini continued to serve his country in a fruitful manner. This work was not a burden to him as he derived pleasure from it. Moreover, during this period he did not abandon his political activities, but carried them on behind the facade of his school. He did a lot of correspondence and made the letters a medium for instilling political ideas in the minds of the people. Through his extensive correspondence he created such disaffection among his countrymen that they were ready to rise in rebellion against the Government. At that time Garibaldi was busy participating in the wars of South America and Mazzini availed of this opportunity to spread the news about his military exploits all over Europe. The result was that when Garibaldi reached Europe in 1848 his name and fame had already spread there and he was readily accepted by the people as a great soldier and a war hero.

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The Roman Republic

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In 1870 Mazzini left England for Sicily where the people were very much dissatisfied with the king of Italy.[6] Feeling apprehensive, the Italian Government appointed General Medici as the Governor of Sicily who was one of those

6. Since leaving London in 1848 when insurrections had started in Italy, Mazzini kept moving between London and Italy till 1870, organizing revolution after revolution. He also joined the corps of volunteers raised by Garibaldi in Italy. In March 1849, after the flight of the Pope from Rome, he was elected a member of the Triumvirate of the Roman Republic and when Rome was attacked by France he organized a heroic resistance. But at the end of June Rome had to surrender and Mazzini escaped to London. He did not like the alliance that Cavour, the

whom the people of Sicily hated intensely. They also feared him as he was notorious as a tyrant. Many a time the people thought of revolting against him and invited Mazzini to lead them, their object being to establish a democratic government in Sicily. But Mazzini dissuaded them from doing so. They waited for some time but at last their patience was exhausted and they fixed a date for the revolt and informed Mazzini. But Mazzini advised them not to consider the case of Sicily in isolation, but to think over the problem of Italy as a whole, and also act for the whole country. He left England with the hope that his influence might be effective and he might be able to prevent a wedge being driven between Italy and Sicily although he was not very sanguine about it. However, according to those who were to him he felt disillusioned with life those days.

A man named Judas was earlier living with Mazzini in Sicily. Though Mazzini did not like him he never gave vent to his feelings or expressed his displeasure. Mazzini's friends had warned him that the man was of shady character and could be a spy. But Mazzini did not believe them and said that though that man had been living with him when the Government had put a prize on his head and was aware about all his movements he had not come to harm on account of him. However, it seems that this time Judas informed General Medici about Mazzini's departure as a result of which Mazzini was arrested while boarding the ship and sent to the Gaeta fort. The fort was situated on a mountain surrounded by the sea and gunmen were also posted there. Five battleships kept vigil over the sea. Mazzini's arrest gave rise to a rebellion and as the news reached the Administrator of Palermo he sent a large contingent to control the situation. The Government felt relieved but its apprehension on account of Mazzini continued as it feared that if Mazzini died due to advancing years the blame for it could be laid at the king's door and the royal throne might be shaken.

Two months later on the birth of an heir to the throne Mazzini was released from the prison. He left the place with a friend and reached the mainland quietly as he did not want that the people on hearing the news of his release should out of joy take out processions. Considering the whole episode as God's will he

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Prime Minister of Sardinia, arranged with Napoleon III's French empire in 1859 as he did not want national unity to be imposed on Italians, rather he wanted Italians to strive for it themselves. In 1861 when Italy became a nation and Victor Emmanuel II of Sardinia became the first king of united Italy Mazzini was still in exile. He was elected to Parliament but because of the opposition by the rulers could not take his seat in the House. His last years were mostly divided between London and Lugano with brief visits to Genoa and Milan. In 1870 he left London for Sicily but while boarding the ship was arrested and imprisoned for several months in the Gaeta fort in Sicily.

felt content with his lot. While passing by Rome he cast his eye lingeringly at it which was his beloved city.[7]

Though he had resolved not to enter Rome, by chance the train stopped there. No connecting train was available at that time, nor was there any inn on the outskirts of the city where he could spend the night. At last he went to a nearby hotel where he spent the night incognito. In the morning he started for Genoa where he stayed at the house of a friend of his for a few days and one day after placing a wreath on his mother's grave he left for England to spend some peaceful months in the company of his friends.

Even in his old age he went to Switzerland with the idea of starting a newspaper. On the eve of his departure he wrote that on seeing his own mistakes and those of his friends and countrymen he was convinced that their political education was half-baked and that it was a mistake on his part to think that the time for final plunge had arrived. He decided that he would devote the remaining part of his life in educating the people. His friends' indifferent attitude could not deter him from pursuing his self-assigned task. He started a journal which gave strength to his resolve, and luckily he had some worthy colleagues who despite facing such problems as banishment, imprisonment and poverty stood by him in times of need. They had no greed for money or material gains and nothing could make them deviate from their trail-blazing course. Mazzini was sure that such men of sterling character would render immense service to the country.

He ran the journal for one year with the help of his friends. Those who watched him closely said that his enterprise was not short of a miracle as despite his constant illness and other problems he ran the journal well. Towards the end of the year he decided to go back to England. While crossing the Alps he was afflicted with pneumonia which proved fatal. He passed away on 10th March 1872.

During the last moments of his life he was thinking of his motherland to whose service he had dedicated his whole life. How could he pass his last moments without thinking of it?

Personal grandeur, piety, moral courage, selfless love and sympathy were Mazzini's attributes. His spirit of selfless service was something unique. Such men of piety are rarely born. We may think that man is a born sinner. But from the lives of such enlightened men we learn that man is expected to work for the high ideals of life, and that the purity of his soul and the strength of his character depend on his own actions. If a man sets high ideals before himself and strives with perseverance and determination to live up to them he is bound to be successful.

7. Rome, however, became the capital of Italy, one year before Mazzini's death, that is, in 1871.

Mazzini's life is an object-lesson for us. From his life we learn that by courage and perseverance even the most difficult task becomes easy. People like Mazzini are not afraid of hardships and privations. Even at the risk of their lives they perform their duty and remain firm like a rock. If they try to save their lives it is to achieve their cherished objectives. If they join issue with their antagonists it is to remove misunderstandings between them. If they pick holes in others it is to put them on the right path. They do not do anything from a selfish motive. Such people have to face jealousies and are made fun of but they remain engrossed in their work unmindful of their detractors. They possess limitless patience and tolerance and nobody can detract them from their course of action. The world may turn upside down, they may be admired or rebuked by their family members, their friends may go along with them or turn against them, they may be defamed or eulogized, but they must go their way untrammelled.

Mazzini spent most of his life in exile but the whole of Italy went into mourning at his death. The people felt as if the sun of their country's progress had set. His countrymen carried his cortege in a solemn procession to Genoa. About eighty thousand people joined the procession. His worth was not realized by his countrymen during his lifetime but they realized it after his death when they keenly felt his absence. He occupies a unique place in the hearts of the people of Italy and his name will always be inscribed in letters of gold in the history of Italy.

9
GREAT MEN OF THE WORLD
II. Giuseppe Garibaldi

Giuseppe Garibaldi[1]

Submission

My dear countrymen, I have neither the strength with which I could serve you nor the wealth that I could sacrifice for your sake. My teacher taught me that I should communicate the messages and ideas of the great men of the world to you by word of mouth. But I regret that the illness that I went through last year has depleted my capacity of speech. I have thus been constrained to render this service to you by means of my pen. In the series that I have begun the first book was on Mazzini, which has been appreciated by you all. The second book—the present one—is on Garibaldi. I shall consider myself fortunate if this book is also liked by you. It was not possible to write about Mazzini without writing about Garibaldi. But the book on Garibaldi could not be got ready on schedule. I am sending it now for publication in as presentable a form as it was possible to do within the limited time at my disposal. The question may arise in your mind as to why the series should have been started by dwelling on the lives of foreigners. The answer to this is that in today's India most people prefer all things foreign. Due to the foreign rule in India a foreign language, a foreign lexicon, foreign clothes and foreign manners and etiquette are there in the country. There is hardly anything that has not the impress of foreignness. Therefore I thought I should present to you a book on a much-venerated hero of a foreign country. Maybe under the influence of such foreign personalities things of our own country may be transformed and modernized. Although personally I am not enamoured of this idea, I am amenable to the public opinion and bow before it.

As for the third book in the series, I have chosen to write about the life and work of Shivaji Maratha, one of the greatest sons of India and a great soul, and I am actually almost halfway through it. Indeed, I wanted to get it published before the end of November. But as the saying goes, man proposes and God disposes. Let me see when my wish is fulfilled. I pray to God for it.

11th November 1896

Your humble servant,
Lajpat Rai

1. Lajpat Rai, *Giuseppe Garibaldi—A Biography* (Lahore, 1896). Extracts. (Original in Urdu)
Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882); Italian patriot and soldier who greatly contributed to the unification of Italy; fought in the South American wars from 1836 to 1848; returned to Italy and joined Young Italy, founded by Mazzini, and fought for Sardinia against Austria in 1848 and for the Roman Republic against France in 1849; with 1000 volunteer "Red Shirts" conquered

Birth, Family and Childhood

Garibaldi was born on the 4th of July 1807 in the coastal town of Lancet. His forebears were sailors. His father though not rich lived a prosperous life and a number of times suffered great losses in business. He therefore could not spend sufficient money on the education of his children. Yet whatever he could do for their education he did. Garibaldi himself has written about his education, "If at all I have any complaint about my early education, it is this that I was not given proper training in physical exercises nor was this aspect of education ever given any importance. The reason for this was that those days the general tendency of the people was to train their children to become lawyers or clergymen and they did not care to give them an all-round education and training so that they could serve the country in the time of need."

Garibaldi's father loved his children so much that he never wanted that they should be exposed to risks. In order to spare Garibaldi the risks and hassles of the sea life he did not allow him to go to sea until the age of fifteen, and the lifelong complaint that Garibaldi nursed against his father was due to this restriction. He believed that one who wanted to get accustomed to sailing and adopt it as a vocation should take to sea from early childhood, rather than spend the first twenty years of life in some university in Paris or Tunis and then take up the vocation of sailing. Garibaldi adored his mother and said she was a model to other mothers. She had a kind heart and was always sympathetic towards the people in adversity. Garibaldi was proud of the fact that he had inherited both these qualities from his mother. And it was these qualities that later enabled him to devote himself to the service of his nation.

Garibaldi is a German name. 'Ger' of the word 'Germany' and 'Gar' of Garibaldi are derived from the same root. The word 'German' means one who is of simple habits and innocent nature. It would be right to say that his conduct conformed to his name. In spite of so much care taken by his father and given so much protection, a mention about which has been made above, he showed great courage even during his childhood. According to his own statement, during his childhood he mostly played simple and innocent games. But sometimes without telling his father he used to go out and play such games as were dangerous and required courage and daring. He was slim but tough and had a strong will. He had self-confidence and took even perilous situations lightly. He was an expert swimmer. He learnt swimming at such an early age that he

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Sicily and Naples in 1860 and made the king of Sardinia, Victor Emmanuel II, the king of Italy; attempted in 1862 and 1867 to unite Papal states with the new kingdom; liberated Rome in 1870 which was made the capital of Italy next year; helped France in fighting against Prussia.

did not even remember when he learnt it. "I feel as if I knew swimming since birth", he wrote later.

His earliest teachers were two padres. In fact, he had a great dislike for the clergy. In his autobiography he has repeatedly mentioned about them derisively. "The cause of moral and ethical degradation of the people of my country is that the education of the people is under the control of the clergy", he wrote. The two teachers of his who belonged to the clergy could not teach him much. But from his third teacher, who was not a clergyman, he acquired a good deal of valuable knowledge. "Whatever knowledge I have acquired is from this third teacher of mine", he said. "He taught me to respect my mother tongue. He taught me the history of Rome and my country and filled my heart with the love for my country", he added. From the manner in which Garibaldi has written it seems as if he is complaining that the study of the history of Italy and particularly of Rome did not receive enough attention those days. Especially in the city of Lancet it was crassly ignored. Thus wrote Garibaldi, "Lancet for long remained under the rule of the French who were interested in plundering the city or conscripting men into the army to fight their wars, and not in enlightening the people by teaching them the glorious history of their city and awakening their sense of patriotism."

Feeling a little tired and jaded with the school routine Garibaldi decided to go along with some of his friends to Genoa for a short holiday. They obtained a boat, took some foodstuffs and a fishing net and pushed off into the sea. A padre who saw them leaving immediately informed his father. His father sent a boat after them and they were brought back from a short distance from the shore. He remembered this incident, which showed his courage and sense of freedom, all his life. Henceforth he devoted himself whole-heartedly to his studies and especially to the study of the history of his country. A time came when his parents began to worry about his future and wanted that he should be able to earn his living. They and Garibaldi's elder brother decided to set him up in some good vocation whatever money might be needed for it. They deliberated whether it should be a religious vocation, but they were averse to this type of vocation although they were deeply religious. As for the profession of law, Garibaldi himself had nothing but disdain for it. He had no inclination to become a physician either. In comparison to these professions he preferred business. However, he earnestly wanted to be a sailor. For hours on end he used to stand on the seashore and gaze at the sea, admiring the sublimity of the sea and the beauty of the natural scenery. He especially enjoyed watching the sunrise in the morning and the sunset in the evening. The play of ripples and colours created on the surface of the sea by the rays of the sun and the moon fascinated him and he stood still enthralled by them for hours. The vocation of sailing, he thought, would be the best for him as it would provide him a great

opportunity to look at beautiful sights of the sea and scenes of nature. Finally he took a decision and despite the opposition by his parents decided to take up the vocation of a sailor. Then the whole family had to submit to his decision. As his mother was packing up his luggage for the voyage tears streamed down her face. His father was very depressed and sad. But the brave boy remained unshaken and was determined to become a sailor.

Initial Endeavours of Service to the Nation

> "Blessed is the brave man who has faith in his own strength and follows the path of courage. He does not bother about what the people around him say. He relies on his own brave heart for guidance and paves his own way to follow."
>
> — *Moore*

In the year 1830 when Garibaldi was twenty-three years old he came to know about the efforts being made to secure the freedom of his country. In 1831, when he returned from his voyage to the east and reached Marseilles, he learnt that a large number of innocent Italian patriots, who had started a revolution in Piedmont, had been put to death by the ruler of Piedmont, and that it had been done at the instance of the Austrian government. He was standing in the crowd when the Italian sailors were narrating this incident. The news made him furious but feeling helpless tears began to flow from his eyes. Then and there he vowed to avenge the killing of the innocent patriots who wanted to free their country from its cruel rulers. He went to Mazzini straightway and joined his movement. A great quality of Mazzini was that like a lodestar he attracted true and devoted enthusiasts to himself. By his magical charm of love Mazzini mentally prepared this young man to devote his entire life, without a second thought, to the service of the country. In his life Mazzini had the occasion of meeting a large number of people. He had talked to a variety of persons, taught them lessons of patriotism and inspired them to devote themselves to the service of the nation. The meeting between Mazzini and Garibaldi was unique which worked wonders and made history. In fact, it was one of those events which have influenced the course of world history. The day of the meeting and the meeting itself will always be remembered in the history of Italy.

In 1832 Mazzini escaped from France and took shelter in Switzerland. There Garibaldi joined him in his preparations for starting the struggle for freedom. The duty assigned to Garibaldi was to go on board a ship and enthuse the sailors with patriotism and inspire them to revolt and hand over the ship to Mazzini's revolutionary party. The efforts made by Garibaldi for this did not

go entirely in vain. He was able to bring round some of the sailors on board the ship to his views. After briefing them on their special mission and assigning them their duties he began to try to contact the soldiers stationed in the barracks. He managed to arrive at the strategic spot from where the attack was to commence, but his associates could not reach there as their officers had come to know about their plot. The Government forces began to lay siege to capture Garibaldi. But Garibaldi slipped into the neighbouring house of a fruit-seller. The owner of the house turned out to be a woman. Garibaldi told her the predicament in which he found himself. She immediately gave him shelter and also gave him the rustic dress of a fruit-vending peasant to wear and let him escape to safety. He was able to get out of Genoa by eight at night. It was the 5th of February 1834. Garibaldi went straight towards the mountains. The whole path was full of dangers. Crossing the fields, furrows and orchards and passing by the walls and closed doors of houses and rushing through fallow lands he traversed his way to safety. His shoes were in tatters. His feet were sore with blisters and several parts of the body were bleeding. Indeed, he passed through great torment and after trudging all night he was able to reach his home in Lancet. But staying there did not seem to him to be quite safe. So the next day he disappeared from there with some of his revolutionary friends. His journey led him finally to the banks of the river Yaar, which at that time was in spate. His companions did not know swimming. So he left them behind and himself plunged into the river and swam it across. It was indeed an irony of fate that when he was so close to freedom he fell into the trap of his enemies.

The mistake he committed was that he sought refuge in a police station where he revealed his identity and purpose. He was at once arrested and transported to the neighbouring town where he was locked up in a room located fifteen feet high from the ground of the garden. One day he jumped down through the window into the flowerbeds below. The guard on duty did not dare to jump down after him. And by the time the guard climbed down the stairs Garibaldi had shot across the orchard and was on his way to the mountains. He was not familiar with the topography of the area, but with the help of the position of stars he was able to move towards Marseilles. By the next evening he reached a village where he stayed in a house. After the dinner during the conversation with the host he again revealed his identity. "I think my duty is that I should get you arrested at once", said the host. Garibaldi then thought how foolishly he had once again exposed himself to danger. But then nothing could be done as the beans had already been spilled. The best thing he thought would be to go on behaving as though nothing had happened so that the host should get the impression that he was not bothered at all about his arrest. He asked for food and when it was served he began to eat in a manner as if he had not eaten for days. Thus he wanted to create the impression on the host that he was in no

hurry and that he could be arrested anytime later. After a little while some young men from the town came there as usual to read the newspaper and discuss current political affairs. Garibaldi was worried to think that now it would be very difficult for him to escape but he kept his cool. The young men then started playing cards. Garibaldi joined them in the game. After some time they began to sing songs and Garibaldi also started singing with them. Garibaldi, who was gifted with a good and sweet voice, chose to sing a song composed by a popular and famous poet whose songs people very much liked to hear and sing. They were all impressed by the song and the host also appreciated it greatly. The singing continued till it was almost daybreak and by that time the young men had come to know in what a difficult situation Garibaldi was. They shouted slogans to the glory of Italy and escorted Garibaldi to a secret hiding place where they knew there was no danger for him. Even the host had no option but to keep quiet in the face of the great sympathy shown to Garibaldi by these young men.

Garibaldi reached Marseilles after three weeks. There he came to know that an order sentencing him to death had been passed which was published in all the newspapers. It was for the first time that he had seen his name printed in the newspapers and that too with death sentence attached to it. Garibaldi changed his name to Pyne and took refuge in the house of a friend named Yousuf in Paris. In the harbour there were numerous opportunities of sailors' jobs. His friend being his well-wisher soon found the job of a mate for him on a French merchant ship. Garibaldi who had been the captain of a ship was now a mate! When the ship was to start a young man suddenly fell down into the sea. Garibaldi at once jumped into the sea after him and rescued him with some difficulty. Hearing this a huge crowd gathered on the shore and the news of this act of bravery spread in the town like wildfire. People in large numbers queued up in front of the house where he was staying to compliment him and the mother who had given birth to such a brave man.

The man whom Garibaldi had rescued from the jaws of death did not meet him ever again in life. Garibaldi never expected anything in return for the good that he ever did to people as he knew that it was his conscience that impelled him to do good to others. Travelling by sea aboard the above ship Garibaldi arrived at Odessa for the third time. While sitting on the ship and looking at the clear waters of the Bosphorus he chanced to see a boat and noticed some people throwing a bag into the sea. He had heard that the Muslims of Iraq threw away those women whom they did not like into the sea alive stuffed in bags. As soon as this came to his mind he jumped into the sea and salvaged the bag. When the bag was opened on the ship a beautiful young woman emerged from it. She stayed on the ship and on reaching Odessa was handed over to the judicial commissioner of the British government there.

He had travelled on Turkish ships several times. Once when he returned to Marseilles he found the city in the grip of a cholera epidemic. The people there were looking for volunteers who could look after the patients in hospitals. He and one other brave man volunteered for the service in such hazardous circumstances. Both of them worked ceaselessly for fifteen days after which the epidemic was controlled. This shows that whenever exigencies required he came forward to help people and did not hesitate even to stake his life for it. Around this time a Negro sailor fell into the sea and Garibaldi immediately dived after him and saved him.

Being a seafaring man and because of his liking for the sea-life he got a job on another ship which took him to Rio de Janeiro, the capital of Brazil, in South America.[2]

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Return to Italy

Garibaldi and his twelve soldiers were successful in checking the enemy on the outskirts of Montevideo and keeping the city safe from the assaults.[3] But he could do nothing to stop the internal revolts and intrigues. Some intriguing elements in the neighbouring countries also began to manoeuvre and create pockets of their own influence in Montevideo. Consequently, Montevideo gradually lost its independence of judgement and became dependent on other powers for taking decisions about its own advancement and welfare. Garibaldi felt sad at this development, for he always believed that the people who were dependent upon others were bound to suffer and could never hope to make the best of a situation. Relying on outside powers for the advancement and progress of one's country, according to him, was a folly which could not only create disillusionment but also result in ruin and humiliation.

Such were the conditions in Montevideo. On the other hand, from across the sea the news of hope and happiness was pouring in. Garibaldi and his men came to know that Pius IX having taken over as the Pope had begun the process of reform. The country's press was now breathing freely. Those sent into exile were granted pardon, and the whole country was looking at the Pope with hope. But there were forces outside the country which were trying to belittle the endeavours of the Pope and also ridiculed them. The enemies of Italy were

2. Garibaldi spent about 12 years, from 1836 to 1848, in South America fighting for the cause of independence of several states including that of La Grande against Brazil.
3. Before leaving South America for Italy in 1848, Garibaldi also fought for the independence of Montevideo.

in fact planning to mount an attack on the Pope. Garibaldi and his compatriot Annezzeni together wrote a letter to the emissary of the Pope in Rio de Janeiro expressing their gratitude for what the Pope had begun to do and also offered him their service and those of his compatriots there. This letter was written on 12th October 1847 and Garibaldi and his friend Annezzeni waited for a reply till March 1848 but in vain. Notwithstanding the lack of response from the Pope, they decided to leave for Italy whatever the consequences. But they found themselves in a predicament because of the lack of funds which were, however, arranged by an Italian named Antiev. The Government also provided them with a cannon and eighty rifles.

Some citizens of Montevideo were opposed to Garibaldi and his companions leaving for Italy. Some of them were opposed because of selfish reasons and some were actually apprehensive. They said to Garibaldi and his companions that it would be madness on their part to face the risk of being arrested and imprisoned on reaching their own country and advised them to stay on in Montevideo as, they added, they would find it difficult to fight against the powerful states of Europe. By several such arguments these people tried to dissuade them from leaving Montevideo. The result was that out of several hundred Italians only about eighty-five were left to stand by Garibaldi. Even out of these about twenty-nine persons lost their nerve on the eve of departure and dropping out of the contingent got down the ship. At last only fifty-six Italians and seven other soldiers were left to go with Garibaldi to fight and lay down their lives for the sake of the freedom of Italy. Garibaldi and his compatriots while travelling by the ship were thrilled with joy and were full of ardour for their country. For a number of years they had been in exile and had also been fighting for the freedom of other countries. Having survived those battles they were now full of enthusiasm for fighting and sacrificing their lives for the freedom of their own country.

Thus they set out for their homeland to serve it. They were looking forward to using the daring and courage they had developed and the experience they had gained in the battles in South America for the service of their motherland. The time had come for them to prove their mettle for which their lives, they thought, had been spared till now. They also thought that if they could take up arms for the freedom of other countries and fight for them to the last ounce of their courage, caring little about their own safety, then laying down their lives for the freedom of their own country would be a welcome opportunity for them. They were determined to do whatever was in the interest of their country. Full of such ardent patriotic feelings they set out for their homeland.

All of them were immersed in the same thought and feeling. Out of the sixty-three volunteers poor Annezzeni was laid up with tuberculosis and was wasting away with each passing day. He had sustained a number of wounds on

his legs in the last battle. However, the love and care of his companions helped him reach Italy but his wounds did not heal.

They did not have to face any difficulty or obstacle on the way and their journey was safe and comfortable. The leisure hours during the journey were spent in different ways. Those who were unlettered started learning. They also found the time for physical exercises. One of them penned a patriotic song which they used to sing together in the evening. Their aim was to reach the shore of Italy direct. But they could not do so because of certain developments. The condition of Annezzeni began to deteriorate with every passing day and the stock of their rations also fell down to the minimum. So they had to stop over at the coast in Spain.

There the captain of the ship got such news as took all of them by surprise. The news from Italy was that the states of Palermo, Milan, Venice and some other states had raised the banner of revolt, and that some of them had ousted the Austrian rulers from their areas. They also came to know that the whole country which was well equipped with arms had risen against the enemy. This news created a wave of joy among the men on board the ship who began to dance. Some of them were so overwhelmed that tears of happiness began to flow from their eyes. Annezzeni, who was so ill that he could hardly stand up, jumped out of his bed and insisted that he be carried onto the deck to join the celebrations. Slogans of cheer were resounding all round. With one voice they said that they should set out for their destination at once. And within minutes the ship set sail. Passing by the coasts of Spain and France they reached after a few days quite close to Italy from where they could have its view for which their eyes had been waiting for so long. The sight of Italy was like the picture of a beloved cherished by the lover in his heart. After a long, long time their hope to see their motherland was fulfilled. Those who had never expected to see their homeland again at the time they were exiled were full of elation and their hearts danced with joy and faces glowed with happiness. A British poet has aptly put it that if there is a person whose mind has never been stirred by the memory of his homeland, or if he has never felt any love for the country in which he or his forebears were born, or if he has never cared for the land where he grew up and where after a short worldly existence his bones shall be buried, then such a person should be told that no one shall ever mourn his death and that no poet shall ever sing in his praise. All the men on board the ship were so much swelled with joy and happiness that their clothes seemed not to fit them. At the same time their monetary condition was such that they did not have enough money to pay the guide who had helped them in reaching the harbour.

Garibaldi's family had already reached Italy and was staying with a friend of his. Garibaldi was still on the ship when he saw his wife and children and his old mother, who had not seen him for fourteen years, coming by a boat to

welcome him home. His friends and companions were waiting for him on the shore. Every face was glowing with joy on Garibaldi's return. The people gave Garibaldi and his companions a very rousing and joyous welcome. Garibaldi had arrived there to serve his country at a most critical time when his presence was sorely needed. But it did not occur to anyone that Garibaldi would face a death sentence the moment he set foot on Italy. The fervour for national freedom and love of the country was at such a high pitch that nobody cared for what the Government had decreed at that time. In fact, the Government was in a dilemma.

First of all arrangements were made for Annezzeni and Lezzi to get off the ship. After that all the remaining men jumped onto the shore. Garibaldi took his mother and other members of his family in his arms. He was overwhelmed with joy to meet his beloved mother after a long interval. He wanted to stay with her in her old age, give her happiness and consolation. But there could be no rest or peace for the sons of a country, and specially for the brave sons like Garibaldi, which was under the subjugation of foreign marauders. All the men stayed at Lancet for some days during which there was so much jubilation that it looked as if they were celebrating some festival. At this time the struggle was going on in the whole country, and it would have been indeed criminal for them not to join the struggle. They soon decided to leave and boarded the ship which set sail for Genoa. About this Garibaldi has written, "When the people of Genoa came to know about our decision they started making preparations for a very enthusiastic and spirited reception. They also despatched a ship for us but by that time we had already left. The strong wind that was blowing against us pushed our ship towards Corsica instead of Genoa. So we missed the ship that was sent for us. However, when we reached Genoa the people there gave us a very affectionate and rousing welcome. The rulers of course were deeply hurt by all this."

Garibaldi had left ailing Annezzeni in his mother's care. But it is impossible for a man fired with the fervour of patriotism to remain inert. Annezzeni, who was stricken with such a wasting disease as tuberculosis, managed to reach Genoa even earlier than Garibaldi and his men. But the tragedy was that he could not survive and died after a few days.

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Return to Caprera Island

It was thus a morose and depressed Garibaldi who came back to his dear little island. The man who had demolished many a kingdom and given away many a kingdom to others returned home empty-handed. He wanted to give himself

some rest so that he should be able to prepare himself once again to complete his mission. He devoted his time to agriculture and associated others also with him. With his own hands he planted trees and grew flowers, vegetables and grapes and induced others also to do so. He felt happy to see the little plants growing and blossoming. He enjoyed sights of nature and showered love on his children. Sometimes he engaged himself in some building activity of the house. In short, our brave general enjoyed all those little innocent domestic pleasures that an honest and diligent householder enjoys by being at home among the members of his family while earning his livelihood.

Guests came and stayed with the general for a few days and then went away. He accorded them warm welcome and extended full hospitality. One moment he was playing with his own children and the next moment he was consoling the children of some poor neighbour. Sometimes the father and son hearing the distress call from some sinking boat rushed to help and saved as many lives as they could, and after rescuing the boat directed it to its right course.

Almost for a year the general spent his time in this manner. Even during this period whenever there was a call for him from Italy to come and help he immediately took arms and rushed. He was also invited to attend the Parliament of his country several times. But the ministers of the king summarily rejected all his suggestions and proposals. The self-centred ministers were perpetually engaged in grinding their own axes and were least bothered about the unity and glory of Italy, and the fate of Venice and Rome did not interest them at all. The policies of France were implemented in Italy and the ministers acted in accordance with the instructions given by the French Government. They believed that they were in power and that their authority was recognised because of the support of the French Government to them. This state of affairs made the Liberal Party very unhappy and irritated. It wanted to see the whole of Italy united with Rome as its capital. It wanted Venice to be a part of the united Italy and did not want Italy to be subservient to any country. It believed that Italy should neither be an oppressor nor the oppressed, and that if it could be of any help to any country it should offer its help but should never look up to any country for support.

During this period Prime Minister Cavour[4] passed away which left the cabinet ministers in disarray. Garibaldi and his party tried their best to convince the Government that they should try by all means to bring Rome and Venice under their rule. But no such effort was made by the Government and Garibaldi and his party were greatly disappointed. Their frustration made them take their

4. C.B. Cavour (1810-1861); Italian statesman; Premier of Sardinia, 1852-59 and 1860-61; sponsored Garibaldi's campaigns leading to the unification of Italy.

own course. Garibaldi tried to arouse feelings of patriotism among the people by writing articles, tracts and letters to the editor in newspapers. As a result, the whole of the country, including Rome and Venice, eagerly longed to gain freedom. Although Garibaldi knew that there was no hope of any help coming from the Government and that the king, because of being under the awe of France and fear of other countries, would not take any initiative, he believed that he would not oppose him or prevent him from starting a campaign or doing anything he considered necessary. So in the summer of 1862 he set out for Sicily.

x x x x

Venice Liberated

The battle between Austria and Prussia is one of those events of the history of the nineteenth century which cannot be forgotten. It may be recalled that enmity between Prussia and France had a long-standing. The battle of Waterloo had shattered the might of France and raised Germany to its present stature. It had also caused heartburning and jealousy among the various states of Germany and given rise to a war between Austria and Prussia for supremacy.

Garibaldi saw that it was a good opportunity to harass Austria and wrest Venice from it. In the north Austria was engaged in fighting with Prussia and in the south the king of Italy had declared war against it. Austria was thus badly trapped at both the ends. Garibaldi considered this opportunity as a godsend and following the king's orders he mustered his volunteers and proceeded for the battle. What is regrettable is that even during this crucial battle the mutual jealousies among the ministers and officials and their shameless intrigues continued which did not allow adequate supply of rations and munitions reach the volunteers and soldiers of such a large contingent fighting at the front. But Garibaldi's volunteers were quite accustomed to fighting even without being properly provided for. They were devoted to doing their sacred duty and never cared much for their own needs. In this battle too they fought in similar conditions. At times they suffered setbacks but several times they pushed the enemy back. At one point in a fierce battle a general was badly wounded and many brave soldiers of Italy were killed. Because of the success of Austria in this battle and certain other advantages gained by it its morale continued to be high, but the setbacks suffered by it in the north made it stop the battle in the south. Finally on intercession by France Austria decided and promised to relinquish the possession of Venice. Following several political moves after this Venice was at last emancipated from foreign rule in 1866.

New Moves to Liberate Rome – Garibaldi Captured and Released

Venice was united with the rest of Italy. But Rome was yet suffocating in the clutches of the Pope. Without the liberation of Rome the freedom of Italy was incomplete, its glory dim and its future uncertain. The people of Italy therefore waited to see Rome liberated. They knew that unless Rome was declared the capital of free Italy the freedom of Italy could not be secure. Under the treaty signed by France and Italy on 15th September it was decided that France would withdraw its forces from Rome within two years. After two years this period was extended by one more year.

It was September 1867 and the French soldiers were still there in Rome the reason being that the king of France, the Parliament of France and the people of France all were against the withdrawal of the French forces from Rome. They did not relish the idea of Rome being governed by the king of Italy. On the other hand, Garibaldi and his compatriots considered it a matter of humiliation for themselves that they could not merge Rome with Italy. They were prepared to lay down their lives for it and were determined to make Rome the capital of Italy. Thus in September 1867 Garibaldi began preparing for an attack on Rome. While in the midst of preparations he was arrested, under the orders of the Italian Government, in the town of Sialonga and taken to the fort of Insdaria from where he was sent to Genoa and thence to the island of Caprera where he was held as a prisoner. Several battleships and other ships were stationed around the island to keep strict vigil over him.

Garibaldi was under arrest. But his sons, who had inherited courage and daring from their father, and his companions had not lost heart and continued to prepare for an attack on Rome. They recruited volunteers and went round collecting munitions. Some of them also exhorted the people around Rome to take part in the forthcoming battle and some of them slipped into the city of Rome and began a secret propaganda for an uprising by the people. One person swam across the river with large quantities of munitions and entered the city of Rome.

Thus, although Garibaldi was imprisoned, his sons and compatriots continued making efforts to fulfil the objective so dear to his heart. They were ready to stake their lives for securing the freedom of Rome. On the other hand, Garibaldi in his confinement was obsessed with the thought about Rome and was getting restless. He got all the information through newspapers. Ultimately the guards proved ineffective before his strong determination and purity of intention and despite the strict surveillance by a fleet of ships, he with one companion slipped out of the island, and facing several difficulties and obstacles was able to reach near Rome via Sardinia. He had started on the 14th of October and reached Florence on the 20th of October. The people there celebrated his escape from captivity.

On the 23rd Garibaldi joined his troops. The next day they attacked the town of Meterotondo and after much bloodshed were able to capture the town. The enemy deserted the fort and retreated. When Garibaldi was still in the vicinity of this town he came to know that the people of Rome were prepared for an uprising, so he began advancing towards Rome cautiously and slowly. But when for several days no news of any uprising reached him and instead he came to know that some additional French troops were entering Rome, he stopped advancing, turned round and went back to the same fort. Garibaldi's withdrawal caused some anxiety among his troops. Moreover, it was high winter and rains had also started. The result was that the soldiers who did not have enough warm clothing began to leave one by one for their homes. In about six days' time more than half of the force had left. Yet Garibaldi, his sons and the rest of his brave troops did not lose heart. The French army and the Pope's forces joined hands to attack them at Metna and forced them to withdraw from there. Ultimately Garibaldi's troops refused to continue fighting and therefore Garibaldi had to come back from the fort. But he was taken prisoner. Having been arrested for a second time he was held captive in the fort of Veriegnaino. But after a few days of captivity he was released.

The attempt to liberate Rome was not successful and hundreds of brave young sons of Italy were killed in trying to liberate the ancient capital of Italy. Indeed, the battle ended in failure but it had proved that the people of Italy would not rest until they were able to capture Rome. Ultimately in the year 1870 when the French power under Bonaparte III was completely finished after the war with Germany, the king of Italy was able to wrest Rome from France with very little effort.

With the liberation of Rome in 1870 the whole of Italy, from the Alps in the north to Sicily in the south, and from Venice in the east to Rome in the west, was organically united and it truly became a nation. Thus the objectives cherished by Mazzini and Garibaldi were fulfilled. In this protracted war hundreds of the Italian youth were killed, hundreds of women were widowed, hundred of children were orphaned, a large number of children died of hunger, many homes were plunged into darkness and many families were completely ruined. However, these happenings can be forgotten but history cannot forget that in the nineteenth century brave young sons of Italy, without caring for the safety of their lives or for their comforts, made all possible sacrifices and fought and freed their motherland. It was a total transformation from the frustrating defeat suffered in the year 1848. It had taken twenty-two years to make Rome the capital of independent Italy.[5] So long as Rome exists in the world the names of Garibaldi and Mazzini will be remembered. May God grant peace to their

5. Rome was made the capital of Italy in 1871.

spirits and enable the people of Italy to devote themselves fully to the service of their country.

Help to France and Return to Italy

Italy won independence. Garibaldi's lifelong dream was fulfilled. But he never ceased identifying himself with the countries suffering the curse of foreign domination. He did not believe in lip service. He thought that offering help even at the risk of one's life was the true indication of one's sympathy. France had kept Italy subjugated for years, created obstacles in the way of its gaining independence, shed the blood of thousands of young men of Italy and harassed Garibaldi several times with its cunning moves. The same France, now cornered by the Prussian forces, asked for the help of its one-time greatest enemy, Garibaldi. And large-hearted Garibaldi, forgetting the past animosity and bandaging up his wounds caused by French soldiers, set aside his own rest and comforts of the old age and proceeded to give succour to the French. The world is amazed at such generosity which indeed is true valour. Garibaldi said, "National freedom is something sacred and to help protect it is the duty of every human being. Italy has gained freedom. Prussia wants to grab France somehow. It is the sacred duty of Italy to help France preserve its freedom."

In all the battles that Garibaldi fought while helping France he displayed the same daring and skill of strategy as in other battles. The French took great care of Garibaldi as long as the war continued. Garibaldi had risen to the occasion and helped France on all crucial occasions. People talked about him in almost every town, and every town offered to elect him to its town assembly. He was able to win great popularity wherever he went not due to his military exploits alone but also due to his benevolent nature.

At long last France and Prussia signed a treaty of peace and Garibaldi returned home. At the time of his return a friend of his suggested to him that he should ask the French Government to hand over the city of Lancet, which was Garibaldi's birthplace and which was originally a town within the territory of Italy but was given away to France by the Parliament during the Italian war of independence, to the Government of Italy. Garibaldi took a long breath and said, "I am sorry I shall not be able to make this request at this time. It is unthinkable for me to ask for a recompense for my service. Besides, it would not be a right move on my part. It is the work of our national Parliament. Unless the Parliament expresses any such desire I shall not make any move in this respect."

From 1870 to 1875 Garibaldi stayed on his island peacefully. But because of illness his health was deteriorating day by day and he was in great pain.

However, the memory of his war successes and his being in the midst of his children made him feel happy and contented. In 1875 he left for Rome in the company of his children and other members of his family. The kind of warm and hearty welcome the Romans gave him is unequalled in the history of modern Rome. He also attended the session of Parliament. On his proposal sixty thousand liras were allocated for the development of the port and harbour near the river Tiber. As usual, he remained engaged in the work and held consultations with the engineers regarding the plan to change the course of the Tiber.

A man who spent his whole life serving as a soldier was now seen engrossed in making plans for the development of the country's trade and commerce and in this work also he showed as much interest and enthusiasm as he did in the battles that he fought in his younger days for the sake of freedom. The greatness of European countries is in fact the result of the work of such able and far-sighted leaders.

The labourers of Rome presented an address of welcome to Garibaldi replying to which he gave them some advice and suggested that they should give their children good training in some craft so that they could earn their living independently. He reminded them that they were descendants of the great ancient Romans and told them that they should try to follow in the footsteps of their ancestors and be as honest, courageous and determined as they were. He also exhorted them to emulate the British whom he very much admired and whom he considered as the best among all the people of Europe. What he very much liked about the British was that whatever they did they did it with full devotion and commitment. Any kind of adversity or failure could not create an obstacle for them. Once they took up a work they never felt tired of it and were never frustrated. They might face setbacks but they continued doing their work.

His health deteriorated very much during his stay in Rome. His old injuries began to cause much pain and he had to walk with the help of a stick. He also resigned from the Parliament, but he had to withdraw his resignation because of the insistence and persuasion of his friends, the ministers and even by the king himself. He was given a splendid welcome in every city of Italy. A tower was built in Bordeaux to commemorate the memory of those who laid down their lives in the battle for that city and a function was also held on the occasion. Garibaldi was invited to preside over that function. The atmosphere there became full of rejoicing by his presence. He was also taken out in a procession. For miles together people walked alongside his carriage. Hundreds of vehicles and horsemen formed part of the procession. About twenty thousand people walked on foot. Thirty-seven different institutions with their banners joined the procession and twenty-seven mayors of various cities were also there in the procession. Garibaldi stood up with the help of a stick and addressed the congregation.

It was thus that the people of Italy expressed their admiration for the services rendered to them by their liberator. Garibaldi went back to his island after his visit to Rome and again began to pass the days of his old age with the members of his family. Although his physical frame had become feeble with age, the magnanimity of his spirit to identify himself with the sufferings of the people remained unaffected. His heart went out to the poor and oppressed nations and he always expressed sympathy for them. It was during this time that there was an uprising in European Turkey where the people raised the flag of revolt and launched the battle for freedom. In the support of the freedom fighters and in order to boost up the morale of the rebels of Herzegovina Garibaldi wrote a letter in which he highlighted the oppression by and the cruelty of the Turks and pleaded with the political parties of Turkey to become united in their struggle for freedom.

In the year 1880 the Moderate Party made a proposal for setting up a memorial to Napoleon at Metna. The supporters of the republic also proposed to build a memorial to those who had died while fighting for their country in the battle of Metna. Once again Garibaldi came out of his homeland to lead this move. But his bones had weakened and he could walk with great difficulty. He was in great physical pain and life had become almost a burden to him. He was not in a position to be able to travel and serving the people became too difficult for him. But his fortitude was great and determination unshakeable. On a stretcher-like bed he was taken to a carriage. It was indeed a sight to behold when his carriage passed through the marketplaces. There was a sea of human beings all round and the sky resounded with the slogans of praise for him. There was the same scene throughout the way.

Garibaldi did not have the energy to respond with equal gusto to the public applause. He could hardly wave his hand to them and smile. When the carriage reached the destination the horses were detached from it and the carriage was brought close to the dais. When the thin cloth covering the monument was removed the picture of a beautiful woman holding a garland in her hands came into view. There were three pictures placed on three sides of the monument – one picture depicted the battle of Metna, another picture the defence of Monte Rotondo and the third one portrayed the founder of Rome. On the fourth side of the monument there was a wooden board on which was inscribed, "In the memory of those who became martyrs in the battle of Metna." Garibaldi, in his speech which was read out by General Caesar, emphatically stated that though the Italians had suffered a defeat at Metna they had gained a great moral victory.

After his return from Metna Garibaldi lived in peace. The doctors' advice was that he should be given complete rest. His wife opened all his mail and read out such letters to him as did not create any worry in his mind. However, till the end Garibaldi kept himself busy. Sometimes he went into the fields and

supervised the work there, sometimes he wrote a novel, and sometimes he taught his young son, Manva, whom he loved very much.

One day in January 1882 when the boy was fishing Garibaldi sitting in his wheelchair was watching him. Suddenly the wheelchair toppled and Garibaldi fell down hitting his head against a stone. There was some bleeding also and he became unconscious. When he regained consciousness he saw the boy standing by his side stunned with shock and fear. Seeing him in this condition Garibaldi said, "Good gracious! You saw a few drops of blood and began to faint. You have to be a brave soldier." The injury was not very serious but it impaired his health and left him completely disabled. He was also troubled by a racking cough. However, it was decided that he should be taken to a place of warmer climate. The choice fell upon the city of Dolce-Lapu which was close to Naples.

The entire population of Naples gathered on the seashore to welcome him. The Moderate Party's newspaper reported that there were at least two hundred thousand people present near the harbour to welcome him. Garibaldi's palanquin was in the room of the captain of the ship. The people held their breath in anxiety while the palanquin was being brought out of the captain's room. Not a word was spoken by anybody. A team of doctors conferred together and administered medicine to him. He was advised complete rest. Except for Manva nobody spoke to him. Though he was in great physical agony he showed remarkable endurance. He never caused any inconvenience to anyone, nor was he ever rude to anyone. Until the end he used to relate to his son the tales of the battles fought by him. Sometimes he also talked about his wife, Anita, and especially about his mother. He was very much attached and devoted to his mother. He often said, "whatever virtue there is in me it is all due to my virtuous and gracious mother."

After this, he went to Sicily where the people, who were celebrating the anniversary of an old battle, had invited him. But he was so frail and feeble that he could not appear before the people and had to return to his island.

On June 2nd 1882 he breathed his last and his soul left for its heavenly abode. Italy's greatest general, the supreme hero of Europe and one who gave Italy its freedom was dead. As the news spread all government offices, schools, colleges and theatres were at once closed down. The whole country was plunged into grief. Not only in the cities, even in the remotest villages shops and other commercial establishments were closed. Grief and sorrow were in the air and anxiety prevailed throughout the country. The king wrote a letter of condolence to Garibaldi's son in his own hand. The whole country went into mourning at the passing away of its beloved general, who had brought about its freedom. Other countries of Europe too joined Italy in its national grief. The whole of

Europe wailed and said, "The greatest hero of Europe has passed away." Indeed, it is not always that one meets with such a death.

Remember, when you were born
You wept and others laughed.
Live and act thus in the world
That when you die you laugh and others weep.[6]

There have been few such men whose death has been mourned the world over and on such a large scale as the death of the brave and lion-hearted Garibaldi.

Views of Garibaldi

Garibaldi was born in a Christian family. But on reading his autobiography one feels that he did not subscribe to certain basic beliefs of the Christian religion. He did not consider Jesus Christ as one who gave salvation to mankind. He did not believe in the Trinity of Father, Son and Holy Ghost. He particularly considered the Roman Catholic faith to be obnoxious. He attributed the miserable condition of Italy to the Roman Catholic clergy and their teachings. At several places in his autobiography he has mentioned quite derisively about the clergy and has described them as the enemies of the advancement of mankind. He believed only in one God and led a life of devotion. As is usually found among the broad-minded people, his religious devotion did not follow any conventional pattern. His conduct was extremely upright and he was a man of simple habits. Magnanimity was deeply ingrained in his personality which was reflected in his every action.

In 1875, taking into account Garibaldi's impecunious circumstances, the Government of Italy sanctioned him a grant of a lump sum of ten hundred thousand liras besides an annual pension of fifty thousand liras. Garibaldi refused to accept this though he had reached such a stage that he had to sell off the cruiser gifted to him by his British friends for his personal use. His friends persuaded him to accept the grant sanctioned by the Government even though they knew that he had turned it down. At this time he wrote a letter to a friend revealing that his present economic condition was not because of any extravagance on his part or any kind of luxurious lifestyle. The reason, he explained was that his son had incurred repeated losses in business, and that he had stood guarantee for the loan taken by him from a bank. Finally when his

6. Composed in Hindi by the saint poet Kabir.

condition became critical the ministers of the king requested him to accept the grant, which he most reluctantly did. In doing so he felt very much embarrassed and underwent great mental agony. After that the first thing he did was to repay the bank loan taken by his son and then setting aside a certain amount for his wife and children gave away the rest to a friend of his, who had suffered a great loss in his shipping business.

Garibaldi was the embodiment of love. Whomever he loved once he loved him throughout his life. There were times when he differed from Mazzini and his friends provoked him against Mazzini. On occasions he expressed opinions contrary to those held by Mazzini. But his devotion to and love for Mazzini never waned. The words in which he lauded Mazzini in England have already been mentioned by me earlier. As soon as he heard the news of Mazzini's death he sent a telegram to Genoa and said that the flag of the "thousand volunteers" who had won the battle of Sicily should be flown during the funeral of Mazzini. He never showed so much respect and regard for anyone in the world as he did for Mazzini who was his mentor and lifelong friend. He also played an important role in erecting a memorial to Mazzini.

So far as the political philosophy of Garibaldi is concerned, he believed in republicanism and was against imposing his views on others. He believed that a country should be free to have the kind of government it wanted.

It was Garibaldi's wish that after his death his body should be cremated. He had mentioned this to some of his friends also who had promised that his last wish would be fulfilled. Just before his death he had given definite instructions to his wife about the cremation. But the irony was that it had become impossible to go by his instructions. His death was followed by a furious tempest on the sea and the fiercest ever storm on the shore. It was with great difficulty that his friends and relatives could lift his body. They put it on the ground outside and covered it with three heavy boulders and it still lies there – the body of the harbinger of Italy's freedom, Italy's greatest hero, the bravest general and the most magnanimous of Italy's sons. It waits for some faithful friend of his to come and fulfil his last wish and perform the rites of cremation in a proper manner.[7]

7. However, his body, instead of being cremated, was later buried near his house. It was done so because of general resentment against cremation and despite his wife being in favour of it.

9
GREAT MEN OF THE WORLD
III. Shivaji

Shivaji[1]

An Appeal

Compatriots! Here is the third in the series of the world's great men which, in keeping with my promise, embodies the biography of Shivaji Maratha. Whatever I have to say about Shivaji will be found in the pages that follow. Though I had a penchant for research in and study of the history of my country even before writing this book, now I find my keenness for it ever increasing, so I intend to spend the remaining part of my life in studying the past history of our people. I feel sad to see the history books that are prescribed for students. This is the reason why I have decided to write a short history of the Aryans for our children. It is difficult to say how long I shall take to fulfil this wish of mine, but I may say this much that I have already started this work and, health permitting, I may bring out a part of this history before the annual session of Lahore Arya Samaj provided I find the time for it.[2]

I am sorry that because of the lack of time and ignorance of the Marathi language I have not been able to write a comprehensive history of Shivaji which I should have done. But, I may unhesitatingly say that I have left no source unexplored in the search for events connected with his life. I have based my writing on the following history books written by Englishmen.

(i) *History of Marathas* by Grant Duff,
(ii) *History of India* by Wells,
(iii) *History of India* by Mountstuart Elphinstone,
(iv) *History of India* by Sir William Hunter, and
(v) *History of the Deccan* by Sir William Hunter.

The pride of present-day Bombay Presidency, Mr. Justice Ranade, M.A.,[3] Judge of the Bombay High Court, who is at present busy in writing a history of

1. Extracts from Lajpat Rai, *Shivaji, the Great Patriot* (Lahore, 1896). (Original in Urdu)
   Chhatrapati Shivaji (1627-1680); a great Maratha leader, who consolidated Maratha power in western India; statesman, administrator and general; waged a relentless war against the Mughal empire.
2. First part of *A History of India* was written and published in 1898. For the preface to it see *ante*, section 5, sub-section 3.
3. M.G. Ranade (1842-1901); social reformer, educationist and jurist; taught English at Elphinstone College, Bombay, 1868-71; entered Bombay judicial service in 1871; member, Bombay Legislative Council, 1885-87 and 1891-92; judge of Bombay High Court, 1893-1901; works include *Essays in Indian Economics* (1899) and *Rise of Maratha Power* (1900).

the Marathas, has kindly made available to me those parts of his book which deal with Shivaji. I have benefited much from them and I owe a deep debt of gratitude to this great man of our country.

Another worthy historian of the Bombay Presidency, Mr. Karkarya, has published a pamphlet relating to Shivaji and Afzal Khan. I have derived much help from it and for that I am grateful to him also.

I listened to the life story of Shivaji in the Marathi language from a Maratha friend of mine who dealt in detail with those events about which the British historians differ.

I have derived much benefit from the history written by Sir Henry Elliott in which he has included Khafi Khan's translation of Ferishta's history. Still, I believe there is room for further research and improvement and I hesitate to say that all the events connected with Shivaji's life are included in detail in this book.

I regret to say that my countrymen have no taste for the study of history. They are anxious to get degrees after making a study of Shakespeare, Milton, Huxley Tindal, etc. but are ignorant of even the salient facts of our own history. They have no knowledge of the deeds of our ancestors and the events of their lives. As a result, they are prone to believe the opinions expressed by foreign historians and have no idea about those noble thoughts and qualities which have sustained our nation. They do not think about the great men of our own country. If this biography of Shivaji kindles an urge in them to know more about our great men, I will consider my humble service well rewarded. After Shivaji, I had a mind to lay before you the events from the life of a prince among men who infused new life in the people of Punjab at a time of great distress.[4] But my difficulty is that the events of his life have been misrepresented so much that a lot of time is required to study and examine the material to bring out the truth.

For the present, I shall content myself with bringing out the fourth in the series which deals with the life of the pride of Aryan people, Shri Krishna.[5] May God give me the strength to work with perseverance and serve you well!

Om! Peace! Peace!

Yours,
Lajpat Rai

4. The reference was to the biography of Swami Dayanand, extracts from which are printed in the following sub-section.
5. The biography of Shri Krishna was actually written as the fifth book in the series "Great Men of the World", extracts from which are printed in sub-section 5 of this section.

Introduction

"No more the melodies of nightingale in flowery bowers!
No more the reciting of verses in poetry symposia!
From the day you forsook us, My Love!
No more your name on our lips!"

There is no better subject for a people than the history of their past. This is quite true in the case of a nation which has marched downward from its zenith that had been unique and whose decline also has been equally unique.

Among the civilized nations of the ancient world, why have a few endured to date? History has no explanation for the disappearance of those civilizations whose vestiges are found in Babylonia and Nineveh (in Asiatic Turkey). There is also no explanation for the disappearance of that nation which built the Egyptian pyramids and the proofs of whose civilization are now found in the Egyptian tombs and caves. Where are the ancient Iranians who were ruled by Kaikhusrow or Kaikobad? Of the ancient civilizations, only China has been able to preserve its identity and retain its independence. But it is also on the road to decline. Greece, Rome and Italy have regained their footing after brief periods of decline. Ancient Mexicans are no more to be found. There must similarly be many other nations whose traces are nowhere to be found today, and those whose ruins are found have been completely effaced.

Besides those nations which I have enumerated, there was another nation which declined after reaching the zenith of its glory and which in its hey day was at the top of the whole world and the present-day civilized nations had no existence even in name then. That nation's knowledge was the highest, its language the most refined, its religion the most sacred, its philosophy the most perfect, its morality the purest, its progress the most advanced, its bravery unique and its politics free from selfish motives. So far as the testimony of history goes, this nation is the most ancient of all. There is no period of history when the traces of its progress and civilization are not found.

From the language of this nation have emerged most of the modern languages that have the right to be called civilized languages. This nation taught religion to the world and spread knowledge and diverse arts. Many other nations rose subsequent to it and perished but that kindly mother and teacher of the nations, even suffering vicissitudes, has kept the flame of its life burning till today though in a flickering state. There are many who pooh-pooh this claim, but it must be borne in mind that our claim is based on our religious belief and conviction and fortunately European researchers also support our claim. If Sanskrit or some similar language has been accepted as the mother of the Indo-Aryan languages and which embraces all the languages of Europe including

the Persian, Zend, Pushtu and other languages, it is possible to trace the remaining languages of the world also to one and the same source. Again, it becomes clear from a study of the great religions of the world that India is the source of all religions. Buddhism which claims more than one-third of the mankind as its followers originated in this country and spread to so many other countries. It bears the stamp of the Vedic religion and philosophy. Zoroastrianism also resembles the Vedic religion, so much so that *Avesta,* the holy book of Zoroastrianism, makes a mention of Aryans. The inquiries into the origin of the Christian religion also point in the same direction. Draper has expressed the view, as a result of his research, that Christianity also spread from Aryavarta to other lands. He writes that the founder of the Islamic religion originally took interest in discussions and discourses at the centres of religious philosophy in Syria. Many Christians hold that Buddhism and Christianity resemble so much to each other that Buddhism probably originated from Christianity. But it has been conclusively proved that Buddhism originated in Aryavarta when Christianity did not even exist. It is, therefore, probable that Christianity emerged from Buddhism.

The oldest book known to the world is owned by the Hindus and the oldest known language of the world belongs to the Hindus. No more proof is required for the contention that the Hindus are the oldest and the most ancient people of the world. Perhaps the Aryans can rightly claim to be the most ancient, civilized and religious people among all the ancient people of the world and it is they who evolved the knowledge of astronomy and decimal fraction. But something happened subsequently and this nation is now crestfallen and degraded.

"The palace whose height once touched the sky
Resonates now with misfortunes."

Therefore there can be no better subject of study for such a nation than its own history. But it is regrettable that despite being such an old civilization, it has no written history of its own. Some people are of the opinion that this nation did not pay attention to history, while others say that its libraries were destroyed during the political upheavals. Perhaps both these views are correct to some extent. Still, it cannot be said that Hindus were ignorant of the art and objects of history. If Hindu scholars study their sacred language and pay attention to whatever clues to their past history are available, they will no doubt discover their past. A study of Sanskrit is essential to know about the glorious period of their history.

But how to trace the history of our decline and what the people of this country should be told about it until we investigate the treasures of Sanskrit

literature and write the history of our glorious period are the questions which have often plagued me and my friends. As a matter of fact, the history books which are prescribed for our children are unreliable and biased. The difficulties and obstacles faced by us in tracing our history are faced by foreigners too who find it very difficult to study a language like Sanskrit. Ignorance of the knowledge of Sanskrit can put even a most sympathetic historian on a wrong track and the less said the better about those who begin the study of Sanskrit with the biased view that it is the language of those barbarians who always lagged behind in the pursuit of knowledge. The history of the period of our glory has generally been written by European scholars, because the Mahomedan scholars paid very little attention to that period. The European scholars belong generally to two categories as mentioned above. The scholars who write history with no bias are very rare and the sympathetic scholars are rarer still. It is regrettable that the books written by the scholars belonging to the second category are practically beyond the reach of our students.

The existing history books are written in such a confused manner that no one can make sense out of them. Some Indian scholars too have paid attention to the study of the ancient history of our country, but instead of carrying on their own research independently they have mostly relied on European scholars. In short, no history of excellence of our country has so far been written, and it is the sacred duty of Hindu scholars to turn their attention to this task. So long as no good history is written it is necessary that on the basis of the present researches such history should be written for our young men as may be based on unbiased, just and impartial works of scholars, so that its study should enable our young men to realize the heights which our ancestors had attained and from which they have now fallen.

"The nation which was touching the sky of progress
Is now afflicted with adversities and depression."

It is as important to study the history of glory as to study the history of decline. The history of our decline is very badly written. This usually has been written by Muslim writers and we find the evidence of partiality and bias in their writings. But they alone cannot be blamed for it. The courts which patronised them and the people who gave them remuneration had to be pleased. They penned the events with certain ends in view and they were compelled by circumstances to write in a flattering and biased manner. The bravery, courage, determination and victory of Muslims were narrated in spirited tones while the victory of Hindus was ascribed to treachery or such other factors. Hindus were generally called dogs, infidels, cowards, etc. Sometimes their brave national heroes were described as highwaymen Thus, so far as possible every effort was made to depict the heroic deeds of Hindus as the acts of cowardice.

The Muslim historians cannot be blamed as even today the "civilized" European scholars are not free from this bias. The accounts of battles in which European nations were involved are replete with the same exaggerations and biases. The English newspaper reporters have generally described the daredevil warriors of Arabia and Burma as dacoits. If a civilized nation like England can be guilty in the nineteenth century of committing such a fault as to call those who fought for the liberation of their motherland and risked their lives to prevent its enslavement dacoits and highwaymen, the Muslim historians can be exonerated from this kind of blame. Nationalists and patriots have to fight on two fronts. First, they have to save their country from external enemies and, second, they have to deal with internal enemies who make their task all the more difficult. In such a delicate situation servants of the nation have to take up both the tasks. It is very necessary for their success that the treacherous people should be prevented from raising their heads and should never be allowed to gain strength. They have to use different methods to put off such treacherous people and enemies. In the process if they plunder them they will not be doing so for enriching themselves personally but for weakening the enemies. Their supplies should be looted and the bases from where they receive them should be sabotaged. European generals call it strategy, but when others do it they say it is dacoity and brigandry. If the military ethics of civilized nations are of this sort, we should not decry the Muslim historians.

I have digressed a little. But the real problem is how to trace the sources for the study of the history of our decline, because it is very necessary for us to understand the reasons which led to our downfall and the circumstances which made our decline continue for so long. Unfortunately, there is very little material besides the history written by the Muslim historians to make such inquiries. At present the history books read by our children are based on the accounts of such historians as have tried to prove that our community has been cowardly. Whenever our community won a victory it has been ascribed to treachery and dishonesty which is worse than cowardice. Some European historians have contradicted it in clear terms and testified to the virility of Hindus. But most of the European historians have just followed the line of Muslim historians and treated their accounts as true. But as regards their accounts of Europeans they are regarded as unreliable by the European historians.

Grant Duff is a historian of great repute who has written a history of Marathas and described the accusations of treachery laid against Hindus as biased. But he disagrees with Ferishta's observation that in 1771 the Portuguese victory over the Muslim rulers of Bijapur and Ahmednagar was gained through treachery, by making the Muslim military officers inebriated. Grant Duff does not agree with this on the plea that it had been the habit of Muslims to ascribe

their defeats to treachery. This view of a prominent English historian like Grant Duff about the observation of Ferishta should be enough for us. Khafi Khan is another noted historian whose writings are quite useful. But he often calls our brave men dogs. Can the writings of such men provide a correct history of our decline? It is regrettable that the current history books prescribed for our boys are not based on works of independent research. Therefore, it is necessary that Hindus should write the history of their decline themselves. They should take help from the historians belonging to all schools and also search for the history written by Hindus. The accounts of the Hindu writers may be worse than those of the Muslim writers, because a chronicler who writes to please others may not care for accuracy and may always have an eye on rewards. Still, such accounts can be found as were written not for the sake of rewards. In this matter the British historians have done much labour and made us greatly indebted to them. Who would not feel obliged on reading Todd's *Annals of Rajasthan*? If every Hindu Raja or Maharaja gets a history of his family and kingdom written on the model of Todd's history, then it can be hoped that Hindu children will get an opportunity to read the accounts of bravery shown by their ancestors in resisting attacks by enemies.

There is another community in the Deccan known as the Marathas, who have got their own written history. Similarly, I am sure the Hindus in every part of India have some historical account, including that of their decline, with them. If these scattered writings are compiled together a complete history of the downfall of the glorious Hindu community can be written. It is common these days to pass judgments on the Hindus and call them cowards. It matters little if our rulers call us cowards because it is in their interest to do so. It is also not regrettable if our Muslim brethren too call us cowards because they are justified in taunting us. But unfortunately the Hindus themselves have become somewhat convinced of their own cowardice. To begin with, in the primary schools the kindly Mullahs, in the Government schools the vernacular teachers and in the colleges the English historians have been teaching that our community on account of its philosophic bent of mind has been cowardly. They say so despite the fact that philosophical nature and cowardice are not compatible.

If the English people can produce Herbert Spencer, Darwin and other philosophers and yet remain brave and courageous, and if the Germans can produce Schopenhauer and yet remain a nation of warriors in the world, and other European nations can produce philosophers and poets like Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Kant, Hegel, Dante, Schiller, Goethe, Milton, etc., and remain brave, if Christian nations, notwithstanding the teaching of Christ that if someone slaps you on one cheek you should turn the other cheek too, can remain brave, and if the Muslim nations, in spite of the teachings of the Sufis that

"In my gory life, you are my eye open and awake,
I surmise whatever is seen from afar is yourself,"
and
"Entrust all your work to fate,
This is your only endeavour, your only achievement,"

can remain brave and chivalrous, then I see no reason why the Hindus because of their love of philosophy should lose their bravery. However, this is only an argument for the sake of argument.

What is the view expressed in the history books, about the authenticity of which I have dealt with above? Any testimony given in our favour by our opponents is best for us and can prove very useful as they cannot be blamed for partisanship in regard to us. A community which during the period of its decline can produce such men as Raja Karan, Bhora, Bawal, Rana Sangram Singh, Pratap, Jaimal, Fatta, Durga Das, Shivaji, Guru Arjan, Guru Tegh Bahadur, Guru Govind Singh, Hari Singh Nalwa, Phoola Singh and thousands of other brave men does not deserve to be called cowardly.

This is the community whose womenfolk since the beginning of its decline to date have not only given an excellent account of their chastity and purity on different occasions, but have time and again proved their patriotism, broad-mindedness and bravery. Hundreds of them presented arms with their own hands to their husbands, sons and brothers and also saw them dying without letting tears wet their eyes. Many of them themselves donned men's clothes, fought for the freedom of their community and the defence of their faith and died while fighting. Hundreds and thousands of women immolated themselves on burning pyres in order to save their honour. There is ample evidence of their bravery and purity of heart during the period of the decline of Hindus.

No doubt, it is true that this community during the period of its decline produced chicken-hearted men and traitors who often sold out their community and faith to enemies. But even in decaying conditions and despite religious crises and other adversities our community could produce great heroes despite the spectre of the Muslim sword and could retain its own faith to a large measure. This is the greatest proof of its bravery, the like of which cannot be found anywhere in the world. Could any other community save its identity in the face of religious fanaticism, over-enthusiasm, doggedness and proselytizing zeal of the Muslims? Despite the rule of these oppressive invaders five hundred million Hindus firmly adhere to the faith of their forefathers. The greater part of the Muslim population is descended from those Hindus who were converted to Islam by force or allurements of money and other things. A comparison between India and the Turkish empire of Europe would be apt to judge the bravery or cowardice of the Hindus. Despite the willingness of powerful armed nations to

give help to and their actually helping over a long period the Christian populations of the Asiatic Turkey and European Turkey, the latter have not been able to liberate themselves from the clutches of the Turks. A hundred years ago no section of the Christian population in the Asiatic Turkey or European Turkey was free and independent.

For hundreds of years no independent Christian kingdom could be found within the Turkish empire. No doubt, in the nineteenth century some parts of Turkey were liberated with the help of some European kingdoms but no independent Christian kingdom came into existence in the midst of the Turkish empire. But in India even during the rule of the most formidable and oppressive Muslim ruler the entire population of Hindus was never subjugated. When the Muslim rule was at the zenith of its glory independent Hindu states existed both in northern and southern India, maintaining their independence in the face of the Muslim sword.

The early Muslim invaders were convinced after their initial invasions that they were faced with a formidable community although it had become impotent due to internecine quarrels and lost its religious zeal, unity and crusading spirit. It is, however, evident that up to the end of the eleventh century the Muslim invaders used to come as predators and go back after plundering and looting. During the period of Mahmud Ghaznavi the Muslims could acquire only a few forts which too were sometimes lost by them and taken back by their erstwhile owners. The first Muslim raider who defeated the Hindus and founded the Muslim rule in India was Shahabuddin Ghori and the first Muslim king to occupy the throne of Delhi was Qutubuddin Aibak who became the first king of the Slave dynasty in 1205 or 1206.

From the twelfth century till the ascendancy of Akbar on the throne of Delhi in the sixteenth century numerous Hindu states maintained their complete independence. On the map of India Rajputana is quite big in area and in the past it was still bigger. The first Muslim king to invade Rajputana was Alauddin Khilji who ascended the throne in 1295. The invasion of Chitore took place in the beginning of the fourteenth century. But as soon as the invader retraced his steps, the Rana of Chitore regained his independence. Prior to Akbar no other king of Delhi had dared to advance towards Chitore. However, the bravery which Rana Pratap showed while fighting against Akbar is enshrined in the hearts of the people. There is no Hindu who does not feel proud to read about the exploits of Rana Pratap. Unfortunately Rana Sangram Singh was defeated in his fight against Babar on account of his own general, otherwise perhaps the Muslim rule in India would have come to an end at that very time. Man has no hand in the acts of God. The defeat of Rana Sangram Sigh paved the way for the founding of the Mughal rule in India.

As the Mughals captured the throne of Delhi, Punjab gave birth to a saint

whose religious preachings produced a formidable sect which played a great role in razing the Mughal empire to the ground. Babar founded the Mughal rule and during his reign the famous saint Baba Nanak advocated radical reforms in the Hindu religious practices which became a source of inspiration to Guru Govind Singh and his virile Khalsa. Many Rajput states were not fully subjugated prior to the reign of Akbar. Rajputana was not the only region which remained completely independent for nearly three hundred and fifty years after the founding of the Muslim rule. In another region a five-hundred-mile-long kingdom remained completely independent till the beginning of the fourteenth century and no Muslim king dared to advance towards it. This kingdom was in Orissa. In addition to this a large part of the Deccan was completely independent till the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Alauddin's was the first invasion against the Deccan at the close of the thirteenth century. He was the first Muslim general to cross the Narmada river. Passing through Khandesh he reached the gates of Deo Garh. At that time, Alauddin's uncle Jalaluddin Khilji occupied the throne at Delhi. Aluaddin announced that he was not happy with his uncle and so was going to the Deccan to take shelter there. But his real intention was to conquer the new territory.

Raja Ram Das of Deo Garh, the capital of the biggest kingdom of the Deccan, who was the descendant of an ancient kingdom of the Deccan, was taken unawares. His entire army was away and his wife and son too had gone on a pilgrimage. As soon as the Raja came to know that Alauddin had besieged the capital, he called his personal attendants for its defence. But these few attendants were no match to the well-armed Muslim army. In such a helpless condition, they collected some provisions and other supplies and shut themselves up in the fortress situated at the top of a mountain. Alauddin at once entered the city and having plundered it to his heart's content besieged the fortress. At the same time he made it known that the army with him was only the vanguard. When the Raja heard this he thought it expedient to come to terms with Alauddin. The negotiations for peace were yet going on when the Raja's son got wind of the invasion and collecting some men reached the outskirts of the city. Considering it degrading to surrender without offering resistance he decided to fight and gave a challenge to Alauddin. However, Alauddin used another strategy. He deployed a major part of the army to meet the challenge of the prince and left a small part behind to guard the fortress and instructed it to join the main army later at a critical juncture in order to create the impression that the king had arrived in person. This strategy of blood-thirsty Alauddin proved successful. The brave prince fought desperately and when the Muslim army was reeling under his blows, the army, left behind around the fortress, entered the battlefield and the Hindus mistook it for the rumoured royal army. The Muslim star being in the ascendant the chivalry of the prince came to naught

and the battle was won by the Muslim army. As ill luck would have it, the provisions sent to the fortress in haste contained not bags of flour but of salt. In such a situation the Raja had to appease the Muslims by offering them a large amount of money and ceding some territory.

Subsequently, during Alauddin's regime Malik Kafur invaded the Deccan three times and plundered it to his heart's content. However, later on, when the throne of Delhi was imperilled, the Hindus of the Deccan regained their freedom, and except the fortress of Deo Garh no other part of the Deccan remained under the Muslim rule. During this period the Hindus in the Deccan became so powerful that they laid siege to the Deo Garh fortress. At this the Emperor himself rushed with all his forces and saved the fortress. Rao, a prominent Hindu king, was caught and buried alive under bricks. Thereafter, there was no war in the Deccan till 1323.

Later on, Muhammad Tughlak embarked upon an invasion of the Deccan and plundered the whole region. Telengana, the capital of a Hindu kingdom, was ruined completely. But the people went into exile instead of submitting to the Muslims and after ten years they founded another city in the place of Telengana named as Vijayanagar which afterwards became a very prominent city. This city remained completely independent of the Muslims for two hundred years and in 1564 when all the Muslim states of the Deccan—Bijapur, Ahmednagar, Golconda, etc.—made common cause to storm Vijayanagar the famous battle of Talikot took place as a result of which Vijayanagar was smashed and some of its territory was also annexed. Before that the whole of Karnataka and the southern part of the Deccan were completely under the sway of Hindus and the Muslims ruled only over the northern part of the Deccan.

From the accession of Akbar till 1800, i.e. for about two hundred and fifty years the Mughal rule was on the rise. Akbar was the first Mughal king who conceived the idea of an empire comprising the whole of India. At the same time he realized that without the assistance and goodwill of Hindus it was impossible to fulfil this dream. He, therefore, put aside all religious fanaticism and won over the Hindus by such means as always prove quite effective in keeping the subjects in bondage. A ruling community has to act tactfully and firmly in order to harden the shackles binding the subjects so that their liberation may not be possible. It was the achievement of a shrewd ruler like Akbar that he won over the Rajputs by love. All historians, without exception, are unanimous in their conclusion that the Mughal rule reached the zenith of its glory by the goodwill and sword of the Hindus. The Rajput warriors took a leading part in Akbar's campaigns. He used the Hindu generals in all important battles. Poor Birbal was killed fighting for the Muslims. It was the Rajputs who conquered Kabul during Akbar's reign and for some time a Rajput general remained at Kabul on behalf of Akbar. Similarly, the Rajputs helped most in

Akbar's other expeditions also and during the period of his rule many of his provinces were under the rule of Rajputs.

After Akbar, Jehangir also pursued the same policy. Shahjahan also captured the throne of Delhi with the help of Hindus. Although he did not abandon the policy of his grandfather, Muslim fanaticism again made its appearance during his reign. The Rajput *sardars* had great influence in the courts of these rulers and no one dared to insult them. In the court of Shahjahan, Mahabat Khan was a top-ranking noble because of being a near relative of Shahjahan. He once insulted Raja Amar Singh Rathor on which the arrogant but intrepid Rathor beheaded Mahabat Khan in the very presence of the king who had to flee for life to the ladies' apartment.

Aurangzeb imprisoned his father and waded through the blood of his brothers to ascend the throne of Delhi. He resurrected Muslim fanaticism. As a result, the Hindus did not give him a moment's respite all his life. The Hindus everywhere raised flags of revolts. From Aurangzeb to the Mutiny is the period of the progress of Hindus in the political field and also of the rise of the European power.

The same was true of south India. I have already mentioned that at the close of the thirteenth century the Muslims for the first time set foot in the south of Vindhyachal. It was Muhammad Tughlak who tried to shift the population of Delhi to Daulatabad which was previously known as Deo Garh and had been the capital of the Deccan. Many revolts took place during the reign of Muhammad Tughlak. Even some of the Muslim officers revolted against him. The Hindus and Muslims in the Deccan entered into an alliance against him. These rebels appointed a common leader named Zafar Khan for their safety. He had been a slave of a Brahman with whose help he had risen in life. Zafar Khan founded the Bahmini kingdom in the Deccan and named his dynasty after the name of his master. The Bahmini dynasty generally maintained cordial relations with Hindus. Their mountain fortresses were garrisoned by Hindu troops and the finances remained almost entirely in the hands of Hindus.

Hindus were given high ranks in the army and, it appears, were fully trusted. Whenever a king resorted to fanaticism and cruelty, Hindus rose in revolt. During the rule of Sultan Alauddin, the second Bahmini king, when a general named Mulk-al-Tujjar asked Raja Sarka who had been defeated by him to renounce his religion and embrace Islam, Raja Sarka and other fellow Hindus fought with him and put him and his army of eight thousand soldiers to the sword and thus defended their religion.

This was the starting point of the downfall of the Bahmini kingdom. Thereafter on its ruins four new Muslim kingdoms—Bedur, Bijapur, Golconda and Ahmednagar—were founded. The kingdom of Bijapur was known as the

Adil Shahee kingdom and that of Ahmednagar as the Nizam Shahee kingdom. In fact, a Hindu had a hand in founding the Nizam Shahee kingdom. His name was Ahmad and his father was a Brahman of Bijapur who was once taken prisoner by the Bijapur army in a battle and converted to Islam. After conversion, he rose to a high position and his son Ahmad revolted against the king of Bijapur and founded a separate kingdom and named its capital as Ahmednagar. Both the Bijapur and Ahmednagar kingdoms, by and large, followed the policy of Akbar. The finances of both the kingdoms remained in the hands of Hindus. Mountain fortresses too remained in their hands and in other spheres too Hindus were given highly responsible posts requiring trust and confidence. During the Adil Shahee rule a Hindu chief commanded twelve thousand troops and for the first time an order was issued for the use of Marathi as the official language in place of the Persian language. From that day all the government offices switched over to the Marathi language. The Hindus remained in positions of power throughout the reign of this dynasty. The Nizam Shahee dynasty also, in the beginning, felt proud of the Hindus to whom it owed its origin and honoured and respected them. Burhan Shah, the second, conferred the title of Peshwa on his Chief Minister Kanwar Sen who was a Hindu. But later on his successors favoured their Shia and Sunni officials alternatively and thus paved the way for their own destruction. The Muslim kings of Golconda also employed Hindus. Besides these kingdoms the fourth kingdom known as the kingdom of Vijayanagar flourished in the Deccan which fought against these Muslim kingdoms by turns. At last, as has been stated above, all the Muslim kingdoms joined hands to crush the power of Vijayanagar.

During this period a warlike people lived in the Deccan named as Burgi by Ferishta in his book. It appears from Ferishta's history that the Burgi people often harassed the Muslim kings. Many times the Muslim kings defeated them with the help of Hindu traitors. An incident of this nature took place in 1578. For full one year a military commander of the Adil Shahee kingdom was unable to subdue the Burgi *sardars* and reported to the authorities that it was impossible to subjugate them. At last these people were entrapped through the treachery of a Brahman traitor, Asoji Pant. What could not be effected by the sword was effected by treachery.

The Deccan remained in this state of upheaval till the invasion of the Mughal kings with the assistance of the Rajput Hindus. Aurangzeb's invasions resulted in much bloodshed. At a time when almost the whole of India was under Muslim rule two powers were being nurtured, one in the Deccan and another in the Punjab, which ultimately brought about the end of the Muslim rule in India. No doubt, the fountain of these powers was the movement of religious reform.

In the Punjab Baba Nanak told the Hindus that the time had come to relax the caste restrictions. He rejected the worship of gods and goddesses and preached the worship of one God who was ever present. He said:

"God alone is worthy of our worship,
He alone is worthy of our trust,
His commands are worthy of our obedience,
He alone is worthy of our service,
He alone is worthy of our devotion, and
He alone is worthy of our submission."

This saint infused a new feeling of religious devotion in the dispirited Hindus, which was in keeping with the times. He, on the one hand, inspired the Hindus and, on the other, tried to end the religious 'bigotry' of Muslims. His followers continued the mission which his spirited soul had commenced till it grew in strength and brought a large number of Hindus under its fold.

"They had repudiated their master,
They now bowed before their master."

When the Muslim rulers noticed that these disciples of the Sikh Gurus were becoming popular and winning the hearts of the people, they began to harass them. When the Sikh Gurus realized that the prayer and devotion were not enough they had recourse to the sword to defend themselves. As soon as the Sikhs unsheathed their swords, the Muslim temper rose to a boiling point and the Muslim rulers were beside themselves with rage. Oppression was let loose on the Sikhs. Some Sikh Gurus were tortured to death. But the flame that had already been lit could not be extinguished by such atrocities. The flame gradually turned into a fire. Guru Arjan was subjected to tortures but he did not give up his faith. Mani Singh was another brave Sikh who was cut into pieces for his faith, but he faced all this smilingly. The martyrdom of Guru Tegh Bahadur converted this fire into a widespread conflagration, his loving son having inspired him to lay down his life for protecting the faith.

The son began his career by performing a big *yajna*. He went round the sacred fire, and who does not know that his whole life was spent in performing this *yajna* of faith which had begun with the martyrdom of his father? All his four sons were immolated in this *yajna*. Guru Govind Singh took the sword in his hand and imbued with love and devotion wielded it so well that it worked like lightning. From the brilliant feats of his sword it seemed as if God Himself had presented it to him.

Where was this sword?
It shined as a sun in the east,
It shined as a new moon in the west,
It sparkled as a cluster of stars in the sky,
All this was but its reflection,
Where was this sword?

The deeds of the Punjab were repeated in Maharashtra through different means. The roles of Guru Nanak and the Sikh Gurus were emulated in the Deccan in an ample measure by Tuka Ram, Ram Das, Ek Nath and Jai Ram Swamy who exhorted the people to break the shackles of caste system and untouchability and created feelings of love and devotion in their hearts.

Guru Govind Singh, as a true devotee, always kept before him the footprints of his father. As a minor he had sworn to avenge the death of his father – not only that, but to leave no stone unturned to liberate his sacred motherland from the Mughal rule. He had pledged to lay down his life to defend the faith of his forefathers. Under his leadership the people developed great patriotic zeal to serve their motherland.

As the Mughal armies subjugated the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan, Aurangzeb's bigotry and narrow-mindedness became clear before the people. The Hindus of the Deccan now fully realized that the triumph of the Mughal sword would mean that no one would be free to perform his religious rites. In addition to attempting to change their religion by different devices they were harassed by all conceivable means. The Hindu poets and minstrels preached noble ideas to the people and explained to them the concepts of true devotion and love though they also drew a grim picture of the impending calamity. Their devotional songs and poems began to spread by word of mouth. The whole of south India began to prepare itself for that supreme task which was to be fulfilled through Shivaji. When the Hindus were convinced that the worship of their God and true devotion were not secure in Muslim hands, they developed such extraordinary religious zeal that the sword of Muslim rule appeared to tremble before them. While making references to Shivaji and Guru Govind Singh, it would be unjust if I altogether overlooked the brave deeds of another hero of the day and ignored the contribution made by him and his family in bringing about the downfall of the Mughal dynasty. I have already mentioned that the mantle of Rana Sangram Singh was worn by Rana Pratap. Though the imperial might of Akbar and the Rajputs themselves harried Rana Pratap so much that he found it difficult to find even the means of bare subsistence, the thought of submitting before them never crossed this lion-hearted hero's mind. An idea about the dissensions in the Rajputs can be had from the fact that Rana Pratap's

own brother was in Akbar's military service and many times fought against him. On some occasions the two brothers faced each other in the battlefield.

"The body rolled on one side and the head writhed on the other,
The wounded father lay on one side and the dead son on the other,
One bewildered sat on this side and another unawares on that side,
On the battlefield a river of blood was flowing this side and that side."

Chitore was captured by Akbar and brought under his sway, but the Rana escaped along with his group and was not subdued and did not submit. It is a matter of regret that after Pratap Udaipur did not produce his equal, although no one of his descendants entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Mughals or joined their service like many other Rajput chiefs. The Udaipur dynasty, however, could not maintain its independence for long and saw many ups and downs.

Another sacred name occurs in the history of the Rajputs who vindicated the Rajput blood in an ample measure. His name was Durga Das Rathor. He was one of the brothers of Jaswant Singh, the ruler of Jodhpur. After the death of Jaswant Singh, when Aurangzeb planned to put Jaswant Singh's queen and son, the only scion of the family, to death at Delhi the heroic Durga Das rescued the heir apparent. Having put all the women to death with his own hands, brave Durga Das and his companions rushed towards the enemy with naked swords in their hands. Since then Durga Das always continued to fight with Aurangzeb. There is no doubt that his balanced approach, military skill and wisdom contributed much to the undermining of Aurangzeb's empire.

So far I have narrated the history of our decline in brief for the benefit of my countrymen. However, writing history is not my aim, because it is a difficult task which requires a lot of time and a great deal of labour. My aim is simply this that I should direct the attention of my countrymen towards the study of the history of our decline and bring home to them that those who want to prove that our community remained a slave to the Muslims for eight hundred or a thousand years are mistaken. Hindus should not be stigmatized as cowards. Every Hindu is not brave nor will he ever be but as a community Hindus have never been cowardly. A community which has within its fold a large number of militant people like the Jats, Rajputs, Kshatriyas, Marathas and others can by no means be called cowardly. Our Muslim brothers who taunt us with cowardice should search their own hearts. A large section of the Muslims consists of converts from Hinduism. A most eminent Muslim chief is a descendant of Hindus and this is true about many other eminent Muslim chiefs. My contention is that no section of the Hindus as a class can be called cowardly. The Bengalis and Banias among the Hindus are especially blamed for cowardice. But it should

be remembered that history provides several examples of the bravery of Bengalis and Banias. When Bakhtiar Khilji marched towards Nadia to conquer it he could barely save his life.

In every country the business community is, on account of its profession, less militant in comparison to other communities. But we find that many of the Aggarwal and Oswal families of Rajputana set aside their commercial businesses and took up arms to fight alongside their Rajput chiefs on battlefields. Among the Brahmans the Maratha Brahmans and Mohial Brahmans are even today models of soldierly qualities and the names of many Kshatriyas and Khatris too are recorded in history. Perhaps thousands of Hindus and Muslims in the Punjab themselves witnessed the heroic deeds of Kshatriyas and their chivalry which was the best during the period of Ranjit Singh. The Afghans of the Frontier remember the bravery and chivalry of the Kshatriyas.

I have written these pages to give a reply to those who have indicted our nation for cowardice and also to inform the young men of our country that in no period of the Muslim rule had the Hindus shown any tendency of lacking in bravery and chivalry, nor abandoned their yearning for liberation. They never suffered oppression or suppression in silence. Had it not been so, there would not have been twenty crore Hindus in India today. Even now more than half of the British army consists of Hindus. The Gurkhas and Sikhs are specially known for their chivalry and loyalty. Today there is peace in the country and the restrictions imposed under the Arms Act do not give an opportunity to the people to demonstrate their virile qualities. The British government, cleverly, has disarmed the people so that they may not get an opportunity to show their bravery and chivalry. As a result, these days bravery and chivalry do not go beyond wordy duels. I have reason to hope that when such duels are stopped and real chivalry and bravery are in demand the people will give a good account of themselves. However, at present the fields of cricket, football and tennis matches are the only places to test the strength or cowardice of young men and they should try not to lag behind anyone in these matches.

One cannot bear arms these days but it must always be remembered that one who cannot defend himself is of no worth and such a person's faith, religious rights and wealth are always in danger. Physical strength is very necessary for the protection of one's life, property and faith. If a powerful robber can wrest our earnings and wealth from us, all our educational degrees are useless. In the pages that follow I shall portray a person who was a model of physical strength, daring and courage and whose deeds to safeguard his religion and uplift his community present examples to others.

He was Shivaji who was born at a time when knowledge was being effaced from India and no one was sure if he would be able to earn his daily bread and be able to meet his parents or brothers or sisters if he ever got separated from

them. One could not be confident that he would be able to continue to adhere to his religion and that his wealth and honour would remain safe. It was a period of unusual calamity. Not only the Hindus but the Muslims also apprehended disorders and quarrels. Rivers of blood were created and cities were razed to the ground in no time. A beggar became affluent and an affluent person was turned into a beggar. Neither the temples nor the mosques were safe. Shivaji was born in such times. Throughout his life he carried the impression gained by him in his childhood.Though born in such times, he gave an excellent proof of his deep love for his faith. He protected the honour of womenfolk not only by maintaining purity of his own conduct but by severely punishing those who outraged the modesty of women. He also protected the peasants and looked after their welfare. All these qualities are not only praiseworthy but they also prove that he was a unique and wonderful personality possessing sterling qualities of a soldier cast in a heroic mould. Shivaji protected his own religion and saved the cow and the Brahmin and never showed disrespect to any religion. This is the highest praise that can be bestowed on a Hindu in the days of Aurangzeb.

The Muslim historian of the Deccan, Khafi Khan, who repeatedly used the word 'dog' for Shivaji and writing about his death remarked that the 'infidel went to hell', also praised Shivaji for his excellent character. His description of Shivaji as translated by Charles Elliott is as follows.

> Shivaji had always striven to maintain the honour of the people in his territories. He persevered in a course of rebellion in plundering caravans and troubling mankind, but he entirely abstained from other disgraceful acts, and was careful to maintain the honour of the women and children of Mohammadans when they fell into his hands. His injunctions upon this point were very strict, and anyone who disobeyed them received punishment.

The life of Shivaji, briefly depicted in this book, will make it clear to my readers that he possessed all the qualities of a really great man.[6] The administration of Shivaji, who had little formal education, had no parallel at the time in India. He understood the intricacies of administration so well that it can be said that had he been born in the present age he would have proved superior even to the best of European administrators and generals. He was expert in military strategy, had perfected the art of enervating the enemy and possessed almost superhuman courage. He could never tolerate insult by an enemy and never remained silent in such a situation. An aspersion on his

6. Details of Shivaji's life not reproduced.

integrity was enough to rouse his wrath in the court of an emperor like Aurangzeb and he was not afraid of the risk involved in it. He had unshakeable faith in his religion. He was a good judge of men and knew how to recognize their worth. He was pragmatic but maintained purity of conduct. I have, therefore, decided to narrate the story of his life to my young brethren and wish they take a lesson from him and emulate him in his love for his country and religion and like him strictly observe purity in conduct. May God create in their minds feelings of love for and faith in their community! May Shivaji teach them the lessons of partriotism, love for their religion and the need for the purity and nobility of conduct and the art of leading a purposeful life!

x x x x

Shivaji's Character and Place in History

I have narrated in short the life story of Shivaji but have omitted some details about his naval wars with the British and Abyssinians and his relations with the European merchants.

At that time four European countries—England, France, Portugal and Holland —were trying to get a foothold in India. Even during that period they had a keen desire for territorial aggrandizement and also wanted to establish markets for their trade in India although their interests were mutually hostile. However, the Portuguese were the first to come to India who established their settlements on the western coast and propagated Christianity vigorously. They carried on the work of proselytization either forcibly or by inducements, and discriminated between the Christians and non-Christians. They also set up naval bases on the western coast and fortified them heavily. They fought several wars against the Muslim rulers of the Deccan to safeguard their interests. In my opinion their moral standard was not higher than that of the kings of the south. They also treacherously killed an Adil Shahee king. These foreign powers used to recruit the natives for their army and having superior armaments continually harassed the neighbouring states. They also practised piracy in the Indian Ocean and looted ships.

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth of England the British also indulged in piracy. These pirates contributed greatly to the evolution of the great British naval power. Several of these pirates were later on handsomely rewarded by the British kings.

Thus these European countries, which call themselves as the most civilized countries today, could hardly be described as such during the period under review. Their history is also replete with political intrigues, treachery, meanness,

cruelty, assassinations, plunder and bloodshed. They now have levelled these very charges against the Asian nations. Posing as champions of morality, they talk tauntingly about the Asian heroes. But those who have read their history know that the instances of deceit and savagery are found in abundance in it and that there is no difference in this respect between the East and the West.

Even a noble Englishman like Prof. Rawlinson writes, "Shivaji must not be judged by the twentieth century Western standards." The Indian critics sometimes get a wrong impression on reading the books written by European scholars. However, the truth is that these Western nations themselves played fast and loose in the game of politics. Several Western philosophers have tried to introduce morality in politics, and I have every respect for their efforts. But I am not prepared to accept that their political ethics was in any way superior to the Asian ethics. Their code of conduct can be said to have three aspects to it, namely,

(1) the code which is accepted in theory,
(2) the code which they practise in mutual relations, and
(3) the code which they apply to non-Europeans.

In practice, the second is more in use than the third but only since the last one hundred and fifty years. Prior to that even their mutual relations were fraught with wanto acts of duplicity and oppression. The First World War of 1914-18 proved again that the political and military standards of most of the European countries were still barbaric. The well-known maxim that 'Every thing is fair in love and war' still holds good in European society.

In the West and in the U.S.A. there are certain people who are completely against any lapses from political morality and are staunch enemies of imperialism and earnestly desire the freedom of all. As the West has become most powerful and is the virtual ruler of the Asian and African countries, a European visionary is always in the limelight and his fame automatically spreads far and wide. Otherwise the truth is that there is no dearth of such great men in Asia. When these Western critics assess our heroes of the seventeenth century by the standards laid down by the contemporary great men of Europe, they do a great injustice to us. If they assert that the political and moral ethics of our heroes are not equal to those of Washington[7] or Mazzini, then I have no objection. But when they say that our heroes should not be judged by the Western or American standards because their actions have no parallel in the civilized countries, I

7. George Washington (1732-1799); fought in the American War of Independence and became first President of the United States of America (U.S.A.) and held office for two terms, 1789-97.

feel that this sort of reasoning is not only a ludicrous travesty of facts but that such critics are also guilty of falsehood. As a consequence of the propaganda by these critics, the Indian nationalist writers started exaggerating the good qualities of their great men.

As an evil can never become a virtue, all acts of cruelty and plunder and imperial greed and selfish ambitions ought to be condemned whether they are committed by Asians or Europeans. It is pertinent to say that a man should be judged by the standard of ethics of his age. Every great man evolves a code of ethics for himself in harmony with the spirit of his age.

As regards Shivaji's personal character, many different estimates have been made. I have studied in detail the English and Indian commentaries on this subject. But to me the majority of the writers are biased.

It is convenient, however, to deal first with the Maratha point of view in this regard. The Maratha nationalist writers have justified all the acts of Shivaji irrespective of the means he adopted. Their feelings of hero-worship and nationalism restrain them from arriving at a dispassionate conclusion. The following remarks of Prof. Takakhav bear out my contention. "No sovereign either in the past or in modern history has equalled Shivaji's far-sightedness and constructive skill." However, the same author also admits, "This ancient land of ours has yet to produce a perfect man. . . . No hero, however great or virtuous, can be an exception to this law. From this point of view, our hero may have had his faults and deficiencies." The writer also frankly confesses that, being a Maharashtrian and too enthusiastic an admirer of Shivaji, he could not claim to be an impartial critic. I fully praise his straightforwardness. But his frankness casts a duty upon us to formulate a true estimate of Shivaji in a wider perspective. As hero-worship is part of human nature and of nationalism, I do not wish to minimize its importance. But in the interest of the country it is essential to estimate the character of our heroes impartially. As we earnestly wish that our moral standards should be much superior to those of others, we should accept all the shortcomings and weaknesses that we discern in our heroes or in our national character.

Again, Prof. Takakhav in his book, *Life of Shivaji Maharaj* (p. 370), writes, "It will again be no exaggeration to say that it will be hard to find a parallel, either in ancient or in modern history, to the extraordinary skill with which he evolved his methods and principles of government. To the qualities of a successful general and conqueror he joined an administrative genius and statesmanship which have seldom proved so fruitful of active benevolence." In my view this remark tends towards exaggeration. It would be different if one said that in view of his times Shivaji could not have evolved a better system. In that case, whatever might be one's own opinion, no one could charge the author with misrepresenting the facts. But to write about Shivaji's administrative

organization as Prof. Takakhav has done amounts to making an incorrect assessment as it also casts a reflection on the other great men of India and the world. Though I agree that Shivaji's administration was strong, clean and efficient, it can hardly bear comparison with the best of the ancient Indian or modern Western systems of administration. The writer of ardent eulogies for a king who justified a land tax equal to two-fifths of the produce and in whose reign the people had no voice in administration and the trade and industry languished can be excused only on the plea that he is a devotee of Shivaji.

While writing about Shivaji's art of gaining popular sympathy, Prof. Takakhav writes, "This was possessed by Shivaji in a degree scarcely equalled by any other leader of men in the world's history." This view of the author also lacks force as there is no evidence throughout Shivaji's career which might corroborate the writer's claim that he tried to win popular sympathy. On the other hand, the truth is that during those times no ruler ever bothered about the opinion of the people. No doubt, Shivaji did his best to ensure that no subject of his was ever oppressed and there also used to be no interference in the religious affairs of the people, but did Yudhishthir, Dilip, Ashoka, Samudra Gupta, Harsha or even Akbar in any way lag behind Shivaji in this respect? Was there no such righteous king in the history of China, Japan or Europe? The truth is that all great men possessed this rare quality.

Again Prof. Takakhav, at page 618 of his book, writes, "An outstanding feature of Shivaji's administrative system was the equality and impartiality of his government towards all the subjects, and it will be no exaggeration to assert that scarcely has any sovereign equalled him in the practice of this virtue." As regards this, again I have no hesitation in saying that this view is not correct. No doubt, Prof. Takakhav has taken great pains in writing his book which is a most valuable source book on the subject but after perusing his book I am sorry to say that such exaggerations occur in it frequently. However, the chapter in which he has defended Shivaji from the attacks of his critics and detractors is the most valuable chapter and merits the closest study.

Now let me discuss about the critics and detractors of Shivaji. I have divided them into three categories – (1) the Muslim writers, (2) the contemporary and European writers, and (3) the Indian historians. Before forming any opinion about their pronouncements one should keep in mind the differences among the historians about the events and their criticisms of Shivaji's conduct.

Historians greatly differ about the several anecdotes regarding Shivaji's life, so much so that sometimes it becomes very difficult to know what was the truth. Prof. Sarkar has made a detailed and critical study of Shivaji's life and character based on an extensive use of all the available material. But to me his book seems to be a collection of legends. Even so, a number of facts emerge

from it which are generally accepted as true, although differences persist regarding the means adopted by Shivaji to achieve his ends. Under these circumstances I am not prepared to accuse the critics of bias, nor can I say that the Maratha writers have extolled his virtues only because of their blind faith in him. In my opinion the English writers have mostly followed the Muslim historians in forming their estimate of Shivaji, and they themselves are also not free from partiality. However, I am not prepared to accept the views of Muslim historians who are definitely prejudiced against Shivaji. I have studied a large number of books written by the Muslim authors. However, I regret to say that their version of the events is not based on facts but was written merely to please their patron kings and their biased views about Shivaji can be traced to their fanaticism. Similarly, the contemporary Maratha accounts are prejudiced in Shivaji's favour. Therefore, for a historian, as for a judge, the task of sifting out the truth is rather difficult. So it is necessary for an inquisitive reader to study all the available source material and separate the chaff from the grain. After these preliminary observations I may express my opinion about Shivaji's character and his place in history.

Shivaji was a great man and almost all the historians admit this fact. But who is a great man? In my opinion a great man is he who possesses an extraordinary degree of ability, skill, character and intelligence and whose deeds greatly influence the happenings of his time. It is not always essential that a great man should also be free from vices. For example, Napolean Bonaparte, Alexander, Mahmud Ghaznavi, Changez Khan, Babar and Akbar who were great men were not free from blemish. But all of them were exceptionally chivalrous and sagacious and therefore are called great. However, except for Napolean none was a votary of national struggle. In fact, all their chivalry and endeavours were not for championing the cause of any religion or nation but to satisfy their greed for territorial expansion and to quench their inordinate thirst for power. They founded their empires by uprooting others and performed rare feats of gallantry. But the driving force behind them was their sordid love for the country. Because of their insatiable lust for power they not only subjugated nation after nation but also crushed their religious freedom. In spite of all this the world looks upon them as great men because of their achievements.

There is a category of still greater men who served their own material interests along with those of their countries. Some of them by their own examples inspired their fallen nations to rise to their full stature. Some of them were instrumental in liberating their countries from the oppressive rule of alien powers and some others displayed exemplary courage in defending their motherlands. I would place persons like Lord Nelson, Duke of Wellington, Lord Clive, Shivaji,

Maharana Pratap, Maharana Sanga, Maharaja Ranjit Singh and William Gladstone in this category.

There is yet another distinctive category of great men who spent their lives solely for the sake of their religion or community or country. Among such great men were Lord Buddha, Maharaja Ashoka, Shankaracharya, Jesus Christ, Khalifa Umar Faruqi, Tolstoy, Mazzini, George Washington, Garibaldi, Swami Dayanand, Karl Marx and Guru Nanak Dev.

From what can be learned after a close scrutiny of Shivaji's life is this that he developed a deep-rooted hatred for the Mahomedan rule very early in his life, and in his youth had resolved to free his country from the tyranny of Islam and atrocities of the Muslim rule. But the motive force was his love of enterprise. When he started his career his main object was to win territory. He might have also intended to emancipate the Hindus from the Mahomedan thraldom, but his immediate aim to win independence for his own kingdom from the Muslim kings. It is, therefore, misleading to suggest that the main purpose of Shivaji's political strategy was to secure political independence of Maharashtra or India. In fact, he was continually striving to carve out an independent Hindu empire for himself, as he himself was staunchly anti-Muslim. No doubt, he cherished the idea of Hindu paramountcy but was not inspired by it when he struck the first blow.

While writing about Shivaji's advisors, Prof. Takakhav remarks, "The nobles and counsellors who supported his throne had deliberately elected to serve him from the ambition to improve their fortunes. At the time when they rallied round his standard, they were not moved merely by the impulse of patriotism, the altruistic impulse to throw the weight of what little power they possessed on the side of one who had embarked upon a national cause for the common good of them all. . . . These impulses of patriotism were gradually excited in them, as more they came in contact with their great leader. He impressed them with his faith; he inoculated them with his ideas; he charged them with his hopes, his surging passion, his buoyant enthusiasm for liberty and independence." In my opinion whatever he has observed regarding the nobles is also true about Shivaji himself. One cannot deny that Shivaji hated the Mahomedan power, passionately loved his country, could not tolerate cow slaughter and other insults to his religion and to Brahmans. But after making a survey of his career I am not prepared to admit that his rebellion against the kingdom of Bijapur was in any way inspired by the desire of political emancipation or that he was moved merely by the feeling of patriotism and that he spent his whole life to realize this end. Such an appraisal is not corroborated by the various sources available. His agitation against Bijapur was, really speaking, launched for laying the foundation of an independent

empire. At the most one can say that his government was a Hindu government. It must, however, be borne in mind that he never tried to secure political independence as we understand it now.

By establishing a Hindu state, Shivaji restored the religious freedom of Hindus. But it would not be fair to call his struggle a national movement. Throughout his life he carried on his imperialistic policy which was also followed by his successors. The Maratha empire was a Hindu state having no national government as such. However, this does not mean that he was not a great man or cannot be called our national hero. It is a fact that he was a sincerely religious man and wanted to free his co-religionists from the Muslim yoke, but his struggle cannot be termed as a national movement. One may argue that during those days it was not possible to conceive or launch a national movement. So military action with limited objectives was the only feasible policy and Shivaji realized this well. For his gallant deeds the country is greatly indebted to him and we look at him and salute him as a national hero.

Shivaji was a fearless man. He was an extraordinary general, a far-sighted statesman, a great organizer, a great administrator and a genius far in advance of his times. Besides, he was a man of strong personal character. While I acknowledge all his great qualities and venerate him, I do not want that his struggle should be equated with the national movement and thus the standard of our freedom struggle be lowered.

Was Shivaji a rebel? Even if we accept that he was a rebel, there is nothing wrong in it from the viewpoint of history. The history of the world clearly demonstrates that the founders of great dynasties were rarely free from the stain of rebellion as empires are founded by waging wars or staging rebellions or through revolutions or general consent.

The Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan were clearly founded after revolts against the central authority of Delhi. Only those who revolt against a nationalist government for their personal political ends are considered guilty of perfidy. If the revolts of Muslims against their co-religionists were not a crime, why should Shivaji be indicted for carving out a Hindu kingdom after revolting against the Mahomedan rule?

Another charge laid against Shivaji is that he was a traitor. But was he really a traitor? Certainly not. Even a superficial survey of his career is sufficient to convince us that this charge is absolutely unfounded. He had never taken an oath of loyalty to any of the kings nor was he ever in their service. No doubt his father was a vassal of the Bijapur state. But so what? After all a father's obligations may not always be inherited by the son. Moreover, from his early youth Shivaji was imbued with a desire for liberation. Thus he is absolved from this charge both from the legal and moral standpoints.

Shivaji has been charged with treachery by several writers on the following grounds: (1) the killing of Afzal Khan,[8] (2) Shayista Khan's incident,[9] (3) the assassination of Chandrarao More,[10] and the treaties which he signed and abrogated.

Let me now examine these charges. As regards the first charge, I may point out that Shivaji had already come to know of the Khan's mala fide designs behind the proposed interview with him. Moreover, in my opinion, it was the Khan who struck the first blow at the interview.

As regards the second charge, by no stretch of imagination can Shayista Khan's incident be called an act of betrayal. It was in reality one of the greatest feats of generalship on the part of Shivaji for which he deserves our heartiest praise. I see in the same light his escape from the Panhala fort.

As regards the assassination of Chandrarao More, I agree that it was a case of treacherous murder. But it is not clear from the available evidence whether Shivaji was directly responsible for it or he merely failed to punish his agents as he should have done.

In answer to the charge that he repudiated willy-nilly the treaties with the Mughals, Bijapur and Golconda, I may say that similar instances during the same period are found in abundance in cases of the Mughals and the Deccan Sultanates as well. Ferishta draws attention to a number of episodes in which kings or chiefs lured their opponents to a conference or feast and subsequently murdered or apprehended them. As regards the charge of fraud, treachery and meanness, Aurangzeb himself was a past master of these arts who professed talking with the very persons he was intriguing to kill. I can also cite incidents from the history of Rajputs in which despite their exemplary chivalry they had to suffer humiliation on account of their sticking to particular war ethics. Under the prevailing circumstances, the political wisdom demanded that Shivaji should have repulsed the enemy by every means at his command. Moreover, his private life was never contaminated with any immoral acts. His character, therefore, should be analysed in a historical perspective and in the light of Chanakya's dictum that diplomacy means paying a man back in his own coin. This, I think, is adequate refutation of the above-mentioned charges.

8. Afzal Khan, a nobleman and general of the Bijapur kingdom, who headed the expedition against Shivaji, was killed by the latter in a fight that took place between them during an interview with him near the Pratapgarh fort in the Deccan in 1659.
9. After escaping from the Panhala fort which had been besieged by the Mughal forces under the command of Shayista Khan, Shivaji intensified his attack on the Mughal forces and in 1663 assaulted Shayista Khan in his bedroom in the Lal Mahal at Poona in which he (Shivaji) had spent his childhood.
10. Chandrarao More, the Raja of Javli, was killed in his durbar by two officers of Shivaji who had met him on some pretext. Soon after this Shivaji's troops stormed the town in 1656 and occupied the whole territory of Javli which was of strategic importance to him.

Was Shivaji a cruel man? In my view this allegation too is baseless. Shivaji's campaigns, unlike those of the Mahomedans, were not stained with cruelty and enslavement of helpless women. His detractors quote two instances of alleged cruelty on his part. First, he wreaked vengeance on Baji Ghorpade.[11] But this vendetta was inspired by Ghorpade's treachery in arresting Shivaji's father. Second, once Shivaji ordered that the hands of some men be amputated in order to save the town of Surat from a general massacre. Generally speaking, as compared to the Mahomedans, Shivaji followed a remarkably lenient policy in dealing with his opponents.

All the historians agree that Shivaji never allowed the execution or even enslavement of war prisoners. On the contrary, he gave them gifts befitting their ranks and permitted them to go back to their homes. In fact, his generosity towards the war prisoners was a wonder of the age. In contrast, the Mahomedan rulers perpetrated the vilest possible barbarities against their victims, forcing them to embrace Islam or be sold out as slaves. They did not spare even the womenfolk.

Was Shivaji a freebooter? Of course, he carried out his campaigns of plunder, but one has to analyse it in a proper perspective. One has to understand the political conditions prevailing during the period of his struggle against Muslim oppression. In the beginning, he had no resources to fight against the hostile monarchs. Unlike the Mahomedan rulers he had neither men nor money, and both were required to carry on his war of independence. So how was it wrong if he utilized these campaigns to build up his army and keep it well equipped? How can we condemn Shivaji if we seek to justify in our times the blockades, seizures and bomb attacks on the civilian population, all being part of modern warfare?

We should never forget that Shivaji had a great quality: he always respected mosques, saints and fakirs. Besides, he had issued strict orders against the arrest or abduction of women, children and Brahmans and against outraging the modesty of women. In sharp contrast to this, the Mahomedan rulers perpetrated great cruelties against the Hindus. They not only destroyed the Hindu temples but converted the Hindus into slaves and felt proud of their ignoble deeds. Shivaji did not harass the poor people and always venerated the cow. Whatever he did was essential for laying the foundation of an empire.

Some of the Maratha writers consider Shivaji as one of the founders and champions of liberty and compare him with those nation-builders who attached great importance to liberty. However, their claim seems to be misleading because

11. Baji Ghorpade, who had arrested Shivaji's father Shahji at a dinner party to which he had invited him, was killed along with his sons and some followers by Shivaji's forces at Mudhol in 1665 in a surprise attack at dawn. Ghorpade had been ordered by Adil Shah, the Sultan of Bijapur, to entrap Shahji in order to put a check on Shivaji's daring activities.

we should remember that Shivaji was an empire-builder and not a nation-builder. Generally the empire-builders were plunderers as well and usually practised deceit and subterfuge. The fraudulent tactics adopted by Lord Clive are the well-known facts of history. Although Shivaji was also an empire-builder, he was far ahead of many others like Timurlung, Alexander, Changez Khan, Mahmud Ghaznavi, Alauddin Khilji and Aurangzeb.

According to Prof. Takakhav, some critics accuse Shivaji of cowardice. But this allegation in my view is unjustified. Shivaji's bravery was proverbial and there was no limit to his daring and resourcefulness. Being a great general he was always in the forefront of the army, striking terror into the heart of the enemy. His attack on Shayista Khan's camp was the most memorable episode in his life. Occasionally he did indeed employ such tactics as resorting to ambushes or mocking withdrawals. But all this was part of a well-knit strategy for beguiling the enemy and annihilating him. No sane person can call these manoeuvres acts of cowardice as rashness and blind daring have no place in the science of war. All the great generals of the world, in the past as well as in the present, have followed such tactics.

This peculiar form of warfare known as the guerilla war requires a word of explanation. My readers should know that when the enemy is well organized, has limitless war material and is being confronted by a group of patriotic persons having no material resources worth the name, the guerilla war is the best form of war. It operates like this. Sometimes guerillas erupt at one place today and fifty miles away tomorrow. They come round again, make unexpected raids in order to make a show of fighting, plunder the enemy and flee away. At times they fall upon foraging parties, attack weak posts, capture strategic places, devastate the enemy's territory and create confusion in his camp. They remain hidden in thickets scattered widely in desolate places, make surprise attacks on opponents and appear to be as elusive as the wind. Sometimes they creep up quietly on the enemy under the cover of hills, valleys and forests and strike him suddenly making him bewildered and creating fear and the illusion that the attackers are unlimited in number. By adopting such tactics they shatter the morale of the enemy and harass him so much that he becomes exhausted and is led to commit such atrocities as eventually become a contributory cause of his downfall.

Shivaji was a great guerilla leader. His warfare was practical and most effective under the circumstances. It comprised an infinite variety of ruses and stratagems. His unique feats cannot be equalled even by the most daring adventure of modern commandos. Had he fought open battles against the Mahomedan rulers who were at the zenith of their power he could never have succeeded in accomplishing the amazing exploits of his wonderful career.

Shivaji was a thorough autocrat. The administrative system introduced by

him resembled the system of Muslim administration in India. Although he devised the system of *Ashta Pradhan* and even freely sought advice from his ministers, he often overruled their advice and took measures as he thought best. He only adopted a convenient system of dividing the administrative work but assigned no separate independent duties to his ministers. It is, therefore, misleading to compare this division of work with the administration of our present times which is controlled by a cabinet of ministers responsible to Parliament.

His was not a bureaucratic system of administration. No doubt, he had appointed several officers to carry on the administration, but they were under his personal control and supervision. It is a fact that no administration can be run without officials. But the moot question is whether these officials represent the ruling power or the wishes of the people. The whole problem revolves round the relationship between the power and responsibility. Where there is no control or supervision over the agency of administration, it turns into a monstrous form of bureaucracy. But when its powers are limited and there are checks and counter-checks, it becomes most efficient. And it was the presence of a supervising authority that made all the difference in Shivaji's case.

Some English critics allege that since the time of the Mauryas the bureaucracy had always controlled the administration in India. But their observation is not true. In ancient India there had always been a system of dual control – one by the king and his council and the other by the people through the panchayats or popular councils. Under the Mahomedan rule the king directly kept vigilance on all.

In England the bureaucracy is not as autocratic as in India, because in England the Parliament and the people have prevented it from becoming all-powerful. In India, however, it is all-powerful and there are no checks upon its working. Even Governors of the provinces are being selected from among the members of bureaucracy. The Government does not have any control over it which does not represent the wishes of the people. Rather, its members act like de facto rulers of the country. The officials during Shivaji's times were not public servants in the modern sense but were directly under his control. He held complete sway over them, the like of which even the King of England or the Viceroy does not hold over our bureaucracy.

Our countrymen who invariably inveigh against the present-day British bureaucracy and laud their own ancient system of administration are also in the wrong. My personal opinion is that the present bureaucracy is comprised of very intelligent and capable men but my only objection is that it represents an alien power and has no sympathy for our aspirations and thus our own men do not get the opportunity to show their real ability. Besides this, it has no interest in the welfare of the people and has crushed all our spirit of

independence and self assertion. For the progress of a country it is not only necessary to ensure efficient administration but the administration should also be run by its own people.

I do not want to criticize Shivaji for his administrative policies, for he never had a sufficiently long interlude of peace between wars to work out his political ideas. But even the system introduced by his successors was not superior to the present-day system. Though I do not expect that we will be able to maintain a high standard of administration under our own rule, I strongly advocate Swaraj on account of its moral strength. I have mentioned all this because these days there is a tendency in the people to acclaim all our past deeds, and so they extol the administrative system of Shivaji. But we can never adhere to a system under which the revenue collected amounted to two-fifths of the produce. Was this not the reason for the poverty of the people in Maharashtra? Though according to Prof. Rawlinson the Mahomedan rulers used to collect fifty per cent of the produce as tax, it does not make me inclined to praise Shivaji.

There is a controversy among the Maratha historians about who can be given the credit for Shivaji's achievements. Some writers try to prove that it was Swami Ramdas's teachings and exhortations that led Shivaji to embark upon his pioneering work. They say that before Shivaji Bhagwat Dharma had spread in all parts of Maharashtra, that Swami Ramdas gave it the name of Maharashtra Dharma, and that his propagation of the faith through his teachings rekindled the embers of patriotism in the hearts of the people throughout Maharashtra. But there is no historical evidence to prove this. In my opinion there is much force in Prof. Takakhav's observation that "The truth is that the self-denying spirit inculcated by the saints of Maharashtra had for well-nigh three centuries crushed out of existence the spirit of self-assertion. The sages who identified Ram and Rahim, the saints in whom a holy calm and a selfless spirit predominated over all impulses of the human heart, the zealous enthusiasts whose minds were estranged from the glamour of this world . . . such gentle spirits were not the men to take up arms against Islam."

Though it is also true that sometimes religious teachings engender the flame of patriotism in the people's hearts and motivate them for the supreme sacrifice, I find no evidence of such resplendent spirit prevailing during Shivaji's time. Only this much can be said about Swami Ramdas that he inspired Shivaji to wage a war against the Mahomedans. Similarly, in the Punjab, without the political and military resurgence of Guru Govind Singhji, Guru Nanak Devji's labours would not have been of much avail.

Prof. Takakhav and some other writers maintain that the basis of Shivaji's resolve to free his country was his love for the country's religion. However, I do not agree with them in this respect as during Shivaji's time there was no

Maharashtra Dharma or any national religion of the Hindus. All these hypotheses are without any foundation. I regret to say that even persons like Justice M.G. Ranade lent weight of their profound scholarship to support such a view. As regards the view that a revolutionary religious change was attempted by the saints of Maharashtra, it is interesting to note the observation of Mr. Rajwade[12] that "the kind of religious reforms referred to by Mr. Ranade can nowhere be seen in the writings of the saints. These saints did not mean to turn their backs upon gods and temples and differences in castes, religions and languages." In fact, in India since the advent of the Buddha the spirit of renunciation has generally been dominant.

Nothing more need be written about Shivaji's life. He was a man of strong personal character. His attitude to women was exemplary and had no parallel in the past or in his own times. The secret of his grand success in life was his unfailing insight into the character of men. To his own men he was a leader without peer and a great general who fully shared the dangers of battlefields with his soldiers. He was not only a most capable administrator but also, at heart, a philanthropist, a humanist and a crusader against injustice. He was a truly great man and even his severest critics acknowledge this. We have the great honour to be his compatriots.

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Shivaji's Private Life

It is a world of mortals. He who is born is destined to die and Shivaji was no exception to this. However, it is rare that such noble souls are born. Shivaji was a dauntless warrior who shattered the Mughal empire. In order to achieve independence he fought several wars, killed thousands of men, showed no mercy to the enemy and at times even used crafty tactics and practised trickery. But his private life was marked by a high standard of morality and one is amazed to see how strictly he adhered to a high moral code. His countrymen rightly treat him as an incarnation of god.

We have to ponder over what was Shivaji's father's status in the beginning, what was Shivaji's own position when he commenced his public life at the very young age of nineteen, and how great were his achievements during the short span of his life. His chivalry, statesmanship, organizing genius and modesty

12. V.K. Rajwade (1864-1926); started his career as a school teacher in Poona and later devoted full time to research in history and sociology; compiled *Sources of Maratha History* in 22 volumes and wrote several books including *Jnanesvari and Its Grammar.*

have evoked the admiration of all the great historians of the world who have recognized him as one of the greatest men of the world. Though he was born in a dark age full of violence, he proved by his example that Hinduism was not really dead and that it could again reach the skies. It was he who raised the Hindus from their lowly position to a position of dignity and honour. He proved that the Hindu community could produce a Chhatrapati (a king of kings). His critics may write anything about him but the Hindus will always remember him with the deepest reverence.

As regards his family life, he was a devoted son, a loving father and a caring husband. He always extended hospitality to friends, relatives, nobles and princes. His pleasing manners captivated his friends completely. He always treated his subordinates with great kindness and affection. The splendour of his personality and his natural smile made him the darling of all. It will not be out of place to cite here an example of his kindness. A few days before his death he received a letter from Raghunath Pant saying that his younger brother Venkoji always remained gloomy and depressed, refused to do any administrative work, paid no attention to food and drink and adopted the ways of a religious recluse. Upon this, Shivaji wrote to Venkoji the following letter which is quoted by Prof. Takakhav in his book.

> Many days have elapsed without my receiving any letter from you and, in consequence, I am not in comfort. Raghunath Pant has now written that you, having placed melancholy and gloom before yourself, do not take care of your person, or in any way attend to yourself as formerly, nor do you observe any great days or religious festivals. Your troops are inactive, and you have no mind to employ yourself to state affairs. You have become a *bairagi* and do nothing but sit in some place counted holy, and let time wear away. In this manner much has been written to me, and such an account of you has given me great concern. I am surprised when I reflect that you have our father's example before you – how he encountered and surmounted all difficulties, performed great actions, escaped all dangers by his spirit and resolution and acquired a renown which he maintained to the last. All he did is well known to you. You enjoyed his society, you had every opportunity of profiting by his wisdom and ability. You also know, and have seen, how I have established a kingdom. Is it then for you, in the very midst of opportunity, to renounce all worldly affairs and turn a *bairagi,* to entrust your affairs to persons who will devour your estate, to ruin your property and injure your bodily health? What kind of wisdom is this? What will it end in? I am to you as your head and protector, from me you have nothing to dread. Give up, therefore, all this and do not become a *bairagi*. Throw off despondency, spend your days properly, attend to fasts,

> feasts and customary usages, and also to your personal comforts. Look to the employment of your people, the discipline of your army and turn your attention to affairs of the moment. Make your men do their duty; apply their services properly in your quarter, and gain fame and renown. What a comfort and happiness it will be to me to hear the praise and fame of my younger brother. . . . Hold together for mutual support, and you will acquire celebrity and fame. Above all things, be not slothful; do not allow opportunity to slip past without receiving some returns from your army. This is the time for performing great actions. Old age is the season for turning *bairagi.* Arouse and bestir yourself. Let me see what you can do.

For women Shivaji had a great regard and veneration which was unique in that age, his standing orders being that on no account should a woman be molested. When his own son Sambhaji outraged the modesty of a Brahman woman he immediately imprisoned the heir-apparent who on account of this went over to Dilir Khan. Whenever a woman was captured he showed utmost respect to her and sent her back with honour. Shivaji's respect for women was so well known that on several occasions the Mahomedans saved their towns from being sacked by donning women's dress. Similarly, he could not tolerate any disrespect to other religions and mosques. Even Khafi Khan, his most bitter critic, has admired his character. He writes as follows:

> "He made it a rule that whenever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to Mosques, Books of God, or anyone's women. Whenever a copy of Holy Koran came into his hands, he treated it with respect and gave it away to some of his Musalman followers. When the women of any Hindu or Mahomedan were taken prisoner by his men and they had no friend to protect them, he watched over them till their relations came."

A remarkable thing about his character was that he never became wantonly cruel. Though his troops carried fire and sword wherever they went he always protected the poor, the peasant and the cultivator. To the Brahman and the cow he was like an angel who gave them full protection.

Some historians have laid the charge of cupidity against him. But I can cite a number of instances which clearly refute this allegation. He never intentionally practised aggrandizement, nor was he ever motivated by selfish desires, although he believed that it was justified to plunder the enemy's territories and riches. I mention here a recorded instance of how strict he was in regard to acquiring wealth by force and unfair means. Once Dilir Khan plundered a town in Shivaji's dominion and when he was fleeing Shivaji came

to know about it. He immediately chased him, overtook his forces, fell upon them like lightning and smashed them. Thus he recovered the looted wealth and restored it to the lawful owners.

Shivaji's judgement of men was unique and this quality of his was the main factor behind his spectacular success. By his personal magnetism he used to cast a spell over all those who knew him and he never failed to make sincere and honest friends and supporters. Such was the influence of his charisma on the people's heart that whoever came into his contact even once never deserted him. He made several such Hindus and Muslims his friends as had been his opponents and except Sambhaji nobody else ever betrayed him.

Shivaji was sincerely religious by nature. He had great passion for *kirtans,* recitations from the *Puranas*, *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata* and other religious books. A very interesting story about him is that once even at the risk of his life he stole through a Mahomedan army and reached the centre of the enemy's camp at Poona to listen to a *katha.* He was also very particular about performing daily religious rituals. "His life", writes Orme, "was simple even to parsimony; his manners void of insolence or ostentation; as a sovereign he was most human and solicitous for the well-being of his people."

9
GREAT MEN OF THE WORLD
IV. Swami Dayanand

Swami Dayanand[1]

Introduction

1. Our Country and Its Name

Our country is at present called Hindustan. It is a compound word made up of the terms "Hindu" and "sthan", meaning the land of Hindus. The word "Hindu" seems to be a comparatively new word as it is not found in the literature of our country before the advent of the Muslims. It does not figure in the old Sanskrit books either. It is generally believed that it is a variant of the word "Sindhu". But it is not so as Sindhu is the name of a river, not of a people. However, it can be easily assumed that the name "Hindu" was for the first time given to the original inhabitants of the country, that is the Aryans, by the Muslims. In the Persian language the word "Hindu" means a slave. According to the Muslim view the subjects who do not embrace Islam are to be treated as slaves. Hence it is not surprising that the Muslim rulers called their non-Muslim subjects as Hindus. Before the coming of the Muslims the Indian peninsula was considered to comprise Uttarapath and Dakshinapath. Uttarapath was popularly known as Aryavarta or Brahmavarta, while Dakshinapath was simply called the South. This did not imply that there were no Aryans in the south and that they were confined to the north alone, as, according to the *Ramayana*, there were Aryan settlements in the south too. However, according to Sanskrit books too the region lying between the rivers Saraswati and Ganga was called Brahmavarta. In several books the whole country has been called Bharatkhand.

2. All Hindus Are Descendants of the Aryans

There is no doubt that all those who are called Hindus today are descendants of the Aryans. It is quite possible that some communities or sections among the Hindus may also be having non-Aryan blood in their veins, but having come into the Aryan fold and adopted their language, religion and customs they can be called Aryans in the fullest sense of the term.

1. Here is printed only the introduction to *Maharshi Swami Dayanand Saraswati and His Work* (Lahore, 1898) written by Lajpat Rai. (Original in Urdu)

   Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824-1883); exponent of Vedic philosophy and religion and social reformer; founder of Arya Samaj; works include *Satyarth Prakash, Rigvedadi Bhashya Bhumika* and *Ved Bhashya.*

3. *Were the Aryans Original Inhabitants of the Country or Did They Come From Outside?*

This questions has been the subject of a prolonged debate and the debate is still going on. The debate began from the day some European orientalists started studying the Sanskrit language. On comparing the construction of its words and syntax with those of other classical languages they came across striking similarities between them which made them wonder. Some of them concluded that the present-day Europeans, Iranians, Afghans and Indians descended from common ancestors called Aryans, that in the distant past their forebears lived in Central Asia, from where in the course of time they moved out in various directions, and that those who arrived in India continued to call themselves Aryans while others dropped that appellation. These scholars, as I have already stated, arrived at this conclusion from the similarities that they noticed between Sanskrit and the European classical languages. According to them all these people before getting separated spoke a common language from which in the course of time Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and other such languages evolved.

Swami Dayanand in his *Satyarth Prakash* has this to say on the question:

> *Question*: In which part of the world did man first come into being?
> *Answer*: In Tibet.
> *Question*: Originally were all the men united or was there any division among them?
> *Answer*: Originally they were all one. Divisions among them arose later. Godly men and men of learning began to be called Aryans and wicked and stupid men were described as *Dasyus*. The Aryans again got divided into four *Varnas*: Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra.
> *Question*: How did they happen to come to India?
> *Answer*: When the conflict between the Aryans and Dasyus intensified, the Aryans decided to migrate. They found this land to be most sublime and sacred in the world and so they settled here. Thus this land came to be known as Aryavarta.
> *Question*: What is the geographical limit of Aryavarta?
> *Answer*: The Himalayas in the north, the Vindhyas in the south and the sea in the east and west – this is the geographical limit of Aryavarta. Or you may say that in the west the boundary is the Saraswati river or the Attoc river which originates in the northern mountains and merges with the Arabian Sea in the south, and in the east the boundary is the Drishadvati river which originates in the mountains in eastern Nepal and merges with the Bay of Bengal and which is also known as the Brahmaputra river. The land is called Aryavarta because the Aryans or learned people settled here.

Question: What was the name of the country prior to that and who were the people living here?
Answer: Prior to that the country had no name and no one lived here. Some time after the origin of man the Aryans came here from Tibet.
Question: Many people believe that the Aryans came from Iran, which explains why they were called Aryans. They assert that prior to that the country was inhabited by wild people whom the Aryans called *Asuras* and *Rakshasas*. The wars that the Aryans fought against these people were described in scriptures as the wars between gods and *Rakshasas*.
Answer: This is quite incorrect. It is stated in the *Rigveda* itself that the Aryans were devout, learned and truth-loving people, while the *Dasyus* were the very opposite of this – wicked, irreligious and stupid. Thus the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas were called Aryans and the Shudras Anaryans. When we have the testimony of the Vedas with regard to this how can any sensible person believe what others say about this? In the wars that were fought between the Aryans on the one side and the *Dasyus* and others on the other in the Himalayas, heroes like Arjuna and Maharaja Dasharath helped the Aryans.

There are some European historians who argue that linguistic affinities do not provide adequate grounds for coming to the conclusion that the Aryans were not the original inhabitants of India and that they came here from Central Asia or some other region. However, scholars generally believe that several European languages as well as the Zend and Pahlavi (old Persian) languages are so much similar to Sanskrit that either all of these languages evolved from Sanskrit or they, including Sanskrit, had a common source in some other language or group of languages. Indian scholars and some European scholars contend that Sanskrit is the mother of other languages as it is admittedly superior to them as well as the oldest. Thus it can be said that all the languages which have a familial resemblance with Sanskrit are the daughters of Sanskrit, such as neo-Sanskrit, Prakrit, modern Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi and so on. There appears to be no doubt that they all evolved from the old Sanskrit language. Similarly, though Greek, Latin, old Persian and other languages are different from Sanskrit, the old Sanskrit is the mother of them all. Some scholars advance the view that since the European classical languages, such as Greek and Latin, do not show the same affinity with Sanskrit as the modern Indian languages do, it seems quite likely that there was a language other than Sanskrit which was spoken by the Aryan groups before they dispersed to settle in different places. However, whatever be the case we can certainly conclude that the ancestors of the people speaking the languages derived from a common stock must have at one time lived in the same homeland. Was that homeland Central

Asia or the snowy heights of the Himalayas? Did they live in the north or in the south? These are the questions which have not yet been answered satisfactorily. In my view Mountstuart Elphinstone and other historians have a valid point in saying that the evidence adduced for the view that the Indo-Aryans originally lived in Central Asia is not conclusive. It remains only a hypothesis. During the entire period which has a historical record the Hindu Aryans lived only in India. The onus of proving that they are not the original inhabitants of India lies on those who hold such a view. Therefore teaching Hindu students that their ancestors were not the original inhabitants of India is to mislead them.

4. Among All the Languages of Learning Sanskrit is the Most Ancient

It has been admitted that of all the languages – Greek, Latin, Persian and Pahlavi – Sanskrit is the oldest. It has also been admitted that in the library of mankind the *Rigveda* is the oldest book. It is therefore not at all improper to assert that among all the languages of learning Sanskrit is the oldest and the only reliable source to provide us an account of the past.

5. The Vedas are the Key to Understanding the History of Human Civilization

History can provide us information about what happened in the post-Vedic times. But it can tell us nothing about what happened in the pre-Vedic times. As Professor Max Muller says, European scholars have found in the Vedas the key to ancient history. In his view the Vedas are the most valuable books in the whole world and without their knowledge the history of civilization cannot be complete. After coming to know about the existence and contents of these sacred books European scholars made several changes in the history of civilization, and the history written prior to that is now not considered authentic and reliable by modern scholars.

6. For the Religious History of Man the Vedas Are Quite Important

No history is as interesting as that of languages and religions. It is this history by which we identify different peoples and cultures and which lends a people their distinct individuality. Religion has led to some major transformations in the world. Indeed, the political history of the world has largely been shaped by its religious history. Races and communities have been so much transformed by religions that it is difficult to recognize them by their original forms. Persia is at present a Muslim country, but earlier there was a different religion there. The Asiatic and European parts of Turkey have changed radically. The same is

true about the nations of Europe. In my view it would not be an exaggeration to say that it is the religion which moulded the history of mankind Professor Max Muller rightly says that the scholars who apprised Europe of the Vedas have done a great service to the religion and culture and led the historians and scholars of the world onto the path of truth. Had the Vedas not been discovered, it is difficult to imagine how long the world would have been groping in the dark and how the history would have been just a collection of imaginary facts. The Vedas have provided the light in which history can be properly written.

7. The Vedas Being the Oldest Books Reveal the Ancient Religion

The *Rigveda*, being the oldest book of the world, propounds the oldest religion, which means that the religion described in the *Rigveda* is the oldest religion of the world. Indeed, the time is not far off when scholars will realize that all the different religions of the world have evolved from the Vedic religion. Just as a comparative study of the different languages indicates that they all have evolved from a common source and that the differences between them are because of climatic changes, in the same way a comparative study of the different religions reveals that there are certain principles which are common to them all, and those very principles are the basic principles of religion. The apparent differences between these principles are the result of different interpretations of them by different people. Men living in different countries having different climates, customs and traditions and passing through different stages of social development interpret the principles of religion also differently. Therefore it can certainly be said that just as the source of different languages is common in the same way different religions also arose from a single source. And since the *Rigveda* is the oldest book which deals with all sorts of metaphysical questions, the religion propounded in it is also the oldest religion. The Aryans of the ancient as well as of later periods firmly believe that the Vedas contain the divine knowledge, and that they are the source of all other religions and also contain their doctrines in their pristine purity. From this point of view, too, no other religious book of the world can be compared with the Vedas.

8. Need for a Thorough Study of the Vedic Sanskrit

Such being the case, it is of paramount importance that mankind should acquire a thorough knowledge of the language of the Vedas. We describe this language by the name, Vedic Sanskrit or old Sanskrit. This language is no longer in existence and there is no community which now speaks it, just as there is no community which now practises the Vedic religion in its original form. Over the centuries the Vedic Sanskrit has been transformed into the language which

is now spoken in India and the Vedic religion has assumed the form of the present-day Hindu religion. I mention the modern language and religion of this country as it is an indisputable fact that they have descended from the Vedic language and the Vedic religion like a son descends from his father and the father from the grandfather and so on. A knowledge of the Vedic Sanskrit is vital for understanding the Vedic religion. Both are intertwined. In this country the language and religion both change simultaneously. As the purity of religion declined here the language also underwent a change.

9. This Country Is Known as "Dharmabhumi"

It is not only the language of this country that has changed with changes in the religious practice – old Sanskrit transformed into neo-Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Apabhramsa, Hindi and other modern vernaculars – political and social conditions too have undergone changes. Since religion has in all ages occupied a prominent place in this country it is called as the land of righteousness.

10. Teaching the Vedic Religion and the Vedic Sanskrit is Work of Great Service

Anyone who teaches us the Vedic religion in its purest form and also teaches us the Vedic Sanskrit, which is the key to understanding the Vedic religion, not only renders a great service to us but also helps the world in its quest for knowledge. Such a person should be considered as having done the greatest good to the world. He gives inspiration to the mankind and paves the way for progress. I propose to present to the reader a biographical sketch of one such great teacher. By explaining to the people the true significance of the Vedic Sanskrit Swami Dayanand has not only benefited India but the whole world.

11. For the Aryans (Hindus) the Life of Swami Dayanand is Precious

The Aryans (Hindus) can never be too grateful to Swami Dayanand. Strayed from their religion and caught in the ignominy of political and social decline, for them the life of Swami Dayanand proved like nectar. Taking great pains, he familiarized us with the knowledge contained in the Vedic Sanskrit. He made the Hindus realize that they had wandered away from their true religion which was the main cause of their misery. He also told us that such a state was not created suddenly but was the result of the gradual decay of our language and the *Varna* system which had now hit the bottom, so there being no room for further fall. The time had come, he proclaimed, for the descendants of Aryans to realize their plight and tread the path of glory once again. The religious

history of India alone provides the key to her future progress. It also lays bare the causes of her fall. It would therefore be appropriate for me to present to the reader a brief outline of the religious history of the country before narrating the life story of Swami Dayanand.

12. The Vedic Religion is the Oldest Religion Not Only of India But of the World

The Arya Samaj holds that the Vedas contain the word of God as revealed to mankind at the dawn of creation. Therefore the religion expounded in the Vedas is not only the oldest religion of India but of the world. However, if one is not ready to accept this view, he should realize that we know nothing about any religion preceding the Vedic religion. Hence we should know what the Vedic religion is.

13. What is the Vedic Religion ?

There is, clearly, much difference of opinion among the people about the Vedic religion. There are at present two sections of the people holding two different views in his regard. The first comprises sannyasis and Indian Sanskrit scholars while the second consists of Western scholars well-versed in Sanskrit. However, some Indian Sanskrit scholars not having adequate knowledge of English support the view held by European scholars.

14. Which Books Comprise the Vedas ?

The Indian Sanskrit scholars by and large hold a different view from that of the Arya Samaj on this question. They think that the Vedas include the four *Samhitas*, *Brahmanas* and *Upanishads*. Many of those calling themselves *Sanatanists* go even further and insist that the *Puranas* too should be counted among the *Samhitas*, *Brahmanas* and *Upanishads*. The entire Sanskrit religious literature is divided into two categories – *Shruti* and *Smriti*. In *Shruti* are included the four *Samhitas* and, according to some people, also the *Brahmanas* and *Upanishads*. *Smriti* comprises the rest of the *Dharmashastras*. It is clear from this that the *Puranas* were never treated as *Shruti* and were always considered outside the Vedic literature. All scholars, including the European Sanskrit scholars, agree on this that the *Brahmanas* and *Upanishads* can be treated along with the *Samhitas* as the Vedic literature but not so the *Puranas*. Thus it is obvious that by the Vedic literature different people mean different things. Some people connect with the Vedic literature such works also as were written to explain the meaning of the Vedas. Hence the divine knowledge was supposed to be contained only in the part known as *Samhitas* which comprise the *Rigveda*,

the *Yajurveda*, the *Samaveda* and the *Atharvaveda*. There are several portions in the *Brahmanas* and *Upanishads* which indicate that they were written by human beings and that in writing them the writers consulted the original Vedas. In these works at several places the *mantras* of the Vedic *Samhitas* have been quoted as references, and commentaries have also been written on different aspects of the Vedas. According to Panini, the author of *Ashtadhyayi* grammar, and other writers of *Sutras*, only the *Samhitas* are considered to be the Vedas. The authors of commentaries on the Vedas also recognize only the *Samhitas* as the Vedas containing the divine knowledge. European scholars too, while referring to the Vedas, mention only the *mantras*. Their only doubt is with regard to the antiquity of the *Atharvaveda* and its being treated on a par with the other Vedic *Samhitas*. Hence it should be kept in mind that when I refer to the Vedic religion I mean only the religion propounded in the four *Samhitas* comprising the *Rigveda*, etc. Though there is a difference of opinion among the Hindus as to what exactly constitute *Shruti* and whether the *Puranas*, *Brahmanas* and *Upanishads* too should be treated as *Shruti*, it is generally agreed that the *Rigveda*, the *Yajurveda*, the *Samaveda* and the *Atharvaveda* also comprise *Shruti* containing the divine revelation. Every Hindu believes that whether the religion expounded in the *Puranas* be true or not, the religion expounded in the hymns of *Samhitas* can never be false and that it is the duty of every man to follow the injunctions contained in those hymns. In my view also there can be no contradictions in the divine knowledge. Hence if there are any contradictions in the *Brahmanas*, *Upanishads* and *Puranas* on the one hand and the Vedas on the other, all of them cannot be described as being of divine creation. Some of them must have been created by man. But the question is which one should be treated as containing the word of God and which as the creation of man? Clearly, the work about which there is some controversy should be treated as being man-made and the work which is free from any controversy should be considered containing the word of God. After making these introductory remarks I shall now try to explain what the Vedic religion is and what are the views of different scholars on it.

15. What is the Religion of the Vedas?
(*Opinions of Hindu* "Dharmashastras")

With the exception of the *Puranas*, all *Dharmashastras* agree that the Vedas affirm the oneness (non-duality) of God and propound the worship of only one God. Polytheism and idol worship do not figure in the Vedas. The various names which are considered to denote various gods are in fact different names of one Supreme God and are used to describe the different attributes of that God alone. All the authors of *Shastras* agree that the Vedas advocate monotheism, while the *Pauranic* literature advocates polytheism and idol

worship. In fact, in the *Puranas* the different names of the one Supreme God have been misinterpreted as being the names of different gods and the people have been enjoined to worship them. Later I will try to prove that the Vedas do not advocate idol worship and that they do not favour worshipping different gods and I will also deal with how idol worship and polytheism came into this country. However, here I will dwell upon only this that how in the opinion of unbiased scholars the Vedas deal with the exalted divine knowledge and how they preach monotheism.

16. Opinions of European Scholars – (a) The Vedas do not Contain any Reference to Idol Worship and Temples, (b) The Vedas Contain Only Divine Knowledge

All scholars agree that there is no mention of idol worship in the Vedas or any reference to the building of temples. (See R.C. Dutt, *History of Ancient India* and Miss Manning, *Ancient and Medieval India*.) Many European scholars hold that the Aryans developed the concept of God gradually. They explain that the first reaction of the Aryans when confronted with the grandeur of nature must have been one of wonder, and wonder must have made them speculate on the cause of it all and then they must have arrived at the idea of God. Their primeval religion consisted of worshipping the nature and gradually they changed over to the worship of one Supreme God. R.C. Dutt, in the book referred to above, says, "We are well aware that the religion of the *Rigveda* was the worship of nature, that is, the worship of the sky, the sun, the morning breeze and the fire." According to him the ancestors of modern-day Hindus worshipped only these things and sang their praises. But the question is whether he has correctly interpreted the words of the *Rigveda* on the basis of which he has arrived at the conclusion that ancient Aryans worshipped the elements of nature. Do the Vedas really advocate the worship of these inanimate objects or are the terms used for these objects – *Agni*, *Vayu*, *Indra* etc. – really the different names of God? I do not have sufficient time to deal with the history or refer to Sanskrit books to indicate that the former view is wrong and the latter right. Suffice it to say that a great number of Western scholars agree with the view that the Vedas advocate the worship of only one God, who is described by many names. In support of this they point out that a Vedic seer, while reciting a hymn, offers his prayers only to one God whom he considers as the Supreme God.

That is why many scholars hold the view that the Vedas enunciate the doctrine of pure monism. They reject the proposition that the Vedas preach polytheism. They argue that polytheism implies a hierarchy of gods, each being worshipped according to his place in the hierarchy, while the Vedas mention

the different gods as having the attributes of the same God. European scholars attach importance to this view. That is why Max Muller coined the term monotheism to describe the Vedic religion which means adopting one God from among the many for special worship. (See Max Muller, *What can India teach us*?, first edition, pp. 145-7). But the real teaching of the Vedas is that there is only one Supreme God and that there is no other god. This view, according to Professor Max Muller, is as important as the view expressed in the Koran or the Bible about God. In this context the 46th hymn contained in the 164th *sukta* in the first part of the *Rigveda* is relevant in which it has been said that wise people describe the same Supreme God with the names of *Indra, Agni, Yama* and *Matariswan*. Similarly, in the *Rigveda*, X/114, it has been said that learned men and seers sing the praises of that one God in many voices and in many ways. In the *Rigveda*, X/12, the Supreme God has been described as *Hiranyagarbha*, who, according to it, is the God of all gods.

According to Max Muller, even the Bible does not contain such a clear enunciation of the concept of monotheism. In the *Rigveda*, X/82/2-3, there is a beautiful description of that Supreme God. According to it, He is the creator and architect of the universe, supreme in every way and the progenitor of all and haven for all, who sees everything, transcends everything and whose place is even beyond that of the *Saptarshis*. The verse 128 also contains a beautiful description of the Supreme God and His creation.

These references that I have given from the *Rigveda* should not be construed to mean that these are the only references in the *Rigveda* regarding there being only one God. The whole of the *Rigveda*, from the beginning to the end, refers only to one Supreme God and enjoins only His worship. The *Rigveda* declares that God is incomparable, that His attributes are without a parallel, and that He alone deserves to be worshipped. I have merely mentioned the verses quoted by European scholars and translated by them. The *Rigveda* consists of ten *mandalas* in all, and in the very first *mandala* God has been described as being only one and there is no mention at all of any second god. *Agni, Yama, Matariswan*, etc., are only some of His many names. It is surprising therefore that European scholars should attribute nature worship to the Vedas and say that Vedic seers first thought only of nature and gradually arrived at the idea of monotheism. European scholars even suggest that before the Vedas came into being the Aryans had no conception of God. In fact, European scholars refuse to believe that the Vedas came into being at the very beginning of creation. They think that the Aryans created them in the plains and river valleys of the Punjab. Of course, Professor Max Muller in his book, *Science of Language* (p. 238), concedes that even when the Aryans lived in their original home in Central Asia, they invoked God by using the same names as are today used in the temples of Banaras or in the churches in Rome and other places.

17. The Vedic Religion Shows No Outside Influence

It is agreed, as I mentioned above, that in human history there are no written records older than the *Rigveda*, and that no religion older than the Vedic religion and no language older than Sanskrit have been discovered so far or are likely to be discovered in the future. It is also agreed that the Vedic religion and the Vedic literature have not been influenced by anything preceding them. (See Max Muller, *What can India teach us*?, p. 120.) Except the Vedic religion every other religion of the world has been influenced by some religion preceding it. For example, the Old Testament was preceded by the teachings of Abraham, which is mentioned in the Old Testament itself. The New Testament was preceded by the Old Testament. The Bible includes both the Old Testament and the New Testament. The Koran was preceded by the Torah and the Bible.

Judaism, Christianity and Islam are the religions founded by the Prophets. But the Vedic religion had been in existence long before the Prophets. Even Buddhism is older than Christianity, and it is right to assume that to some extent the former influenced the latter. And as regards Buddhism, it is a child of the Vedic religion. It is a different matter that it did not turn out to be an obedient child. It may sound harsh, but there is no doubt that Buddhism contains nothing new. Even Buddha disclaimed having said anything new. If there is anything new in Buddhism it is false, poisonous and harmful to India. A Western scholar rightly calls India the cradle of religions. It was in India that various religions and religious beliefs were born and brought up. However long it may take, this fact is bound to be realized by all, and the day is not far when it will be universally accepted that all the religious streams that quench the thirst of human spirit have had their source in the Vedas and it would not be surprising if in the course of time all of them returned to their original source. Indeed, over the centuries these religious streams have not been able to maintain their original purity and have to some extent been polluted. So the question arises, when they return to their original source whether they will pollute it too and take the mankind away from it which sustained them. All the different religions have undergone so many changes that they are now unable even to recognize their original source. However, it has also to be admitted that their outward forms are quite artificial and that when they come near their original source their outward forms are bound to disappear. Maulana Hali has rightly said:

> That unvanquished convoy of the religious faith,
> Whose flag reached the corners of the world,
> Whose progress no hazard could check,
> Which did not halt at Amman or faltered at Kulzam, and

Which conquered all the seven seas,
Foundered and sank on reaching near the Ganga.

Sir Alfred Lyall, former Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and a reputed Sanskrit scholar, has also expressed a similar view.

18. Political and Social Conditions in the Vedic Times

You can ask what were the political and social conditions during the Vedic times. Personally I think that political and social conditions of a country are a reflection of its religions and beliefs. The people who believe in one Supreme God and do not feel the need for a person to mediate between Him and them can never tolerate domination by anyone and never consider anyone as being infallible. A man who firmly believes that he can find God through his own knowledge and devotion and without the help of any intermediary can never accept any extraordinary rights of any king, nor can he accept the theory that people should be divided into two classes, one class having the right to rule over the other and the other being obliged to be ruled. It is universally accepted that the division into castes which is a prominent feature of the Hindu society today did not exist during the Vedic times. (See Max Muller, *Chips from a German Workshop*, Vol. II, p. 107, Prof. Lieber, *Indian Literature*, p. 38, and Weller and Hunter, *History of India*.) We are of course aware that in the *Purush Sukta* (*Rigveda*, Mandal X) there is a mention of four *varnas*—Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras. That *sukta* also dwells on the origin of the *varnas*. In explanation I may say that these words used in specific contexts have been written to denote the different professions of the people and not to categorise them into different social groups. The terms Brahmin and Kshatriya occurring at many places in the Vedas have been used for the learned people well-versed in the Vedas and the brave people respectively.

19. Explanation of European Scholars about the Vedic Civilization

We do not have any sort of history of the Vedic times nor any records describing the political and social conditions of those days. The Vedic hymns also provide no clue to them. The European scholars, who do not accept the Vedas as the word of God but treat them only as a source of history, explain that the people during the Vedic times had no worries of any kind, carried on such occupations as agriculture and trade and knew about navigation. There are many hymns indicating that the money too was in circulation. Women enjoyed much more rights than they do today. They did not observe purdah and received education just like men. Widows had the right to remarry.

20. The Period of Compilation of the Brahmanas

In the religious history of India the creation of the Vedas was followed by the compilation of the *Brahmanas*. The Vedas are generally divided into two parts: the *Samhitas* (*mantras*) and the *Brahmanas*. We accept only the *Samhita* or the *Mantra* part as the revelation of truth or the word of God. The *Brahmana* part was created later by seers. Different seers created different *Brahmanas* which were then attached to different Vedas. Each of the four Vedas thus has different *Brahmanas*. According to European scholars the *Brahmanas* contain details about the methods of performing *yajnas*. The difficulty of determining dates in the religious history of India arises because of the fact that no complete book written at any time is available. Whatever books are available they are very old and in the meanwhile several cyclonic changes took place in the world, upsetting so many things. Literary treasures were destroyed, libraries were burnt down, valuable manuscripts and books were consigned to rivers and many women and children were finished off. In our old literature there are references to numerous books which are now untraceable. This applies to the *Brahmana* literature too, some of the oldest books of which are now completely lost. Among the books which have survived is the *Shatapatha Brahmana* which indicates that a lot of changes occurred between the Vedic times and the time when the *Brahmanas* were written. Max Muller, in his book *Physical Religion* (p. 74), writes, "Several centuries appear to have elapsed between the *Rigveda* and the time when the *Brahmanas* were compiled. And even though this interval was not too long it can be definitely said that the authors of the *Brahmanas* had by this time forgotten the real meaning of the Vedic *mantras*. The meaning these seers derived from the Vedic hymns is truly astounding. The ritual of *yajna* had by this time so much influenced them that everywhere they saw only *yajnas*. The *yajna* ritual became so elaborate that the learned men of the time did not seem to think about anything else than *yajna*."

21. Karmakanda, Bhaktikanda and Jnanakanda

The above view of Max Muller is certainly right. In the *Brahmanas* the *karmakanda* has been so much stressed that one feels like uttering 'save us from these learned men!' The true religion of the Vedas has been so trussed up with the chain of rituals that at one time it appeared as if it would get suffocated and die. This was the time when the idea about the caste based on birth was conceived for the first time. However, till that time the essence of the Vedic religion had not disappeared from India. Therefore all scholastic differences over rituals derived from the Vedic *mantras* continued, the spiritual quest based on devotion and knowledge also went on. There were still numerous thinkers

and seers who were not so obsessed with the *karmakanda* as to ignore *bhakti* and *jnana*. Thus while recognizing the limited utility of the *karmakanda* they pursued the path of devotion and spiritual quest and created the *Upanishads*. In the religious practice the *karmakanda* did receive importance but only to a limited extent and as an adjunct to *bhakti* and the pursuit of *jnana*. The overall situation then was that while on the one hand warriors kept the Aryan flag flying in the country by subduing and vanquishing wicked enemies, their brethren, the Brahmins, free from any caste considerations, gathered gems from the Vedas and spread them around. Aryan householders arranged *yajnas* with the help of Brahmins. Seers and mendicants, possessing philosophical nature and being sincere to society, imparted invaluable Vedic teachings. The *yajnas*, performed with faith and proper rituals, filled the hearts of householders with religious feelings and hope for worldly progress. Aryans knew that worldly progress was as important as religious progress. Their thoughts and actions reflected this synthesis between the two which, they believed, could lead them to *moksha*.

22. Dispute over Determination of Castes

There is a large time lag between the Vedic age and the age of *Brahmanas* and *Upanishads*. The latter literature contains a lot of controversy regarding the interpretation of the Vedas. It is clear that the Sanskrit language used in the Vedas had undergone such great changes by the time the *Upanishads* and *Brahmanas* were created that the meanings of different words became subjects of controversy. In the Vedic times *varnas* or castes were not determined by birth, and in the *Brahmanas* and *Upanishads* this subject was discussed at length. However, the Brahmins, who were versed in the Vedas and presided over *yajnas*, insisted that they should be treated as superior to all others, that their rights, religious duties and superior status should be treated as hereditary, that they should be recognized as preceptors by other castes, and that they alone should have the right to study the Vedas and explain their meaning and to conduct *yajnas*. But the Kshatriyas, who formed the warrior class, were not willing to grant the Brahmins such sweeping privileges. They argued that the study of the Vedas and the contemplation of *Brahma* could not be the monopoly of any one class of people. Everyone having the necessary qualification had the right to study the Vedas and acquire spiritual knowledge. The conflict between the Brahmins and Kshatriyas over this issue continued till the end of the *Upanishadic* period. The accounts of discussions held between King Janaka and various Brahmin seers found in the *Upanishads* indicate that the Brahmins did not always have their own way. The result was that the people turned away from rituals and devoted themselves to philosophical meditations. A trend was started against the *karmakanda* which shook even the *bhaktikanda*. Thus on

the one hand the Brahmins tried to establish their superiority in society and on the other some people considered it unjust to create distinctions among the people.

23. Political and Social Conditions in the Age of the "Brahmana" Literature

We find the political and social conditions existing during the age of the *Brahmanas* depicted in the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. The social atmosphere as depicted in the *Ramayana* conveys the idea of a paradise. India indeed was a paradise then. It was as much a land of action as a land of righteousness. Every person – mother, father, son, daughter, husband, wife, king, subject, preceptor and pupil – knew his or her duties and carried them out. The entire country was under the Aryan rule. Everyone was happy and carried on his duty fearlessly. Much of the north-west, including Afghanistan and a part of Turkistan, was under the Aryan sway. There was all-round prosperity in the country. There was no fear of foreign invasion or internal revolt. Members of all castes performed their allotted duties. The principle of caste based on birth had not yet become rigid. Each person served the country and society according to his innate ability and capacity. It was the time when there were masters of archery like Dronacharya and great warriors like Bhima, Arjuna, Yudhishthira and Karna. There were also Kshatriyas well-versed in *Shastras* like Bhishma. There were ideal brothers like Bharata and Lakshmana, ideal sons like Rama and virtuous women like Sita. That age produced such grammarians as Panini who was respected even by the goddess of learning. Had only Panini been born during that period it would have been enough to make the name of India resound in the whole world, for the world has not yet produced a grammarian of his calibre. But Panini was not the solitary man of learning belonging to the period of *Brahmanas* and *Upanishads*. There were several other persons who made their mark in different disciplines like astronomy, mathematics, music and metaphysics. Even if we leave them aside, are the seers who created the *Upanishads* not enough to perpetuate the Indian philosophical legacy? The *Upanishads* are nothing but a treasure house of mystic insights. Every sentence of the *Upanishads* is a precious jewel the like of which cannot be found in the entire literature of the world. Their radiance has provided light to the whole world and illumined the human soul enveloped in the darkness of ignorance. The *Upanishads* provide solace and comfort to the agonized human soul.

If we now look at the *karmakanda*, in this sphere too we find men of great intellect. The *Kalpa Sutras*, for instance, are a remarkable compendium guiding men in their duties through all stages of life, from birth to death. In sum, we may say that the Aryans of those days, immersed in the contemplation of the

atman and *paramatman*, led happy and contented lives. The Vedic knowledge was the basis of all branches of learning. Be they grammarians or mathematicians or religious luminaries or *Upanishadic* seers, all derived light from the Vedas to illumine their work. Whatever was written, whatever was created, whatever was accomplished during that period had its source and inspiration in the Vedas. The people belonging to all the four *varnas* sought guidance of the Vedas for carrying on their activities.

Saints, seers, scholars and intellectuals did indulge in controversies regarding interpretations of Vedic *mantras* but no one dared to question the infallibility of the Vedas. Attempts were certainly made to perpetuate the existing *varna* system but it remained flexible. The people of lower castes could, through their conduct and achievements, graduate to higher castes and the people of higher castes could by their evil actions slide down to lower castes. Children of Shudras could atttain the status of Brahmins and children of Brahmins could, if found guilty of ignoble conduct, fall in the scale of castes and become Shudras.

24. Power of Philosophy

Progress and decline, profit and loss are interrelated. People seek release from human bonds through the help of reason. Caught in the meshes of *karmakanda* they begin to look with suspicion on customs and traditions and seek release from these bonds. When birth is made the basis of caste distinctions, a feeling of revulsion against the *Dharmashastras* which lay down such rules is created. In the age of which I am speaking this issue was a subject of much disputation. Those who swore by the *karmakanda* were not willing to permit even the slightest deviation from its rules. Indeed, they sought to make the rules more and more rigid. On the other hand, seekers after spiritual knowledge – *jnana* – were always trying to get free from the shackles of orthodoxy and those adopting the path of *bhakti* were in ecstasy of devotion, singing songs preaching the union of *jiva* with *Brahma*. People, however, found these spiritual controversies bothersome. There was at the same time a desire for change in them. The dilemma of Arjuna in the *Gita* is a reflection of the mental condition of the Aryans of the time. Lord Krishna brought Arjuna out of his despondency by telling him about the teaching of the Vedas which was a guide to action. The story of the *Mahabharata* shows that the people had departed from the original teachings of the Vedas and were relying more on the post-Vedic scriptures. The books written on the basis of the Vedas were accepted as substitutes and accorded the same importance as the Vedas. Instead of referring to the original source of all religions people took recourse to secondary sources. Instead of referring to the Vedas, the inexhaustible storehouse of divine knowledge, and learning and the wholesome lessons contained in them, they began to turn to

various philosophical works created by the human intellect. Instead of listening to the word of God reliance was placed on the human speech. The result was that the language lost its native simplicity and became artificial. Though the works of Yaska, the author of *Nirukta*, gave inspiration to analyse the Vedic terms and understand their meaning, the trend was such that people began to feel that the *Brahmanas* and *Upanishads* should be treated on a par with the Vedas and that the *Upanishads* should be accepted as containing the substance of all the Vedas and the most reliable reference books as regards the Vedas.

25. Six Schools of Philosophy

In the age when the Aryan religion and language were passing through a period of transition Kapila, the author of *Sankhya*, was born who gave a fillip to human intellect and without transgressing the limits of the Vedas allowed free play to reason. He wanted that people should enjoy full freedom of thought but at the same time should not forsake the Vedas.

The founders of the *Nyaya* and *Vaisheshika* schools of philosophy gave guidance to those who wanted to tread the path of *jnana* and *bhakti* and at the same time inspired people to think independently in order to satisfy their intellectual urge. But they did not advise anybody to flout the Vedic authority. However, later scholars allowed the Vedic authority and teachings to be ignored, so much so that they began even to question the existence of God. Thus great confusion and restlessness set in in the sphere of religion which got vitiated by dry philosophical discussions.

26. Birth of Mahatma Buddha

In this age of confusion and restlessness a prince, leaving behind his family and giving up all worldly pleasures, led an ascetic life and after a prolonged period of penance attained enlightenment. He expounded that peace was not to be found only by *tapa* and *karma* and that all *sanskaras* and rules regulating the life and even *bhakti* were of no avail. The same was true, he added, about the *Upanishadic* teachings and the six schools of philosophy. He held that there was no infallible religion or way of life and no infallible teacher of spiritual truth, and that to believe in an arbiter who judged your actions was ignorance. This is the startingpoint of Buddha's teachings. Instead of the rituals taught by the Vedas he recommended noble actions. He opposed rituals and other religious practices in the performance of which, he said, a great part of a man's life was spent. He also opposed the pursuit of *bhakti*. In his opinion none of the prevailing religions had anything meaningful in them. When asked how the man came into the world and what happened to him after death, he pleaded ignorance. In

Buddha's teachings there is no room for God, soul, *dharma*, *bhakti* or *jnana*. His teachings amount merely to this: Do good, shun evil, control desires and, if possible, end them completely because if there is the slightest trace of a desire no spiritual progress is possible. In Buddha's teachings caste distinctions had no place at all. He made no distinction between the Brahmin, the Kshatriya, the Vaishya or the Shudra. All that mattered was to do good and shun evil. Anyone who could control his desires could attain *nirvana*. He did not accept any kind of social stratification.

Since Buddha did not recognize the existence of God, there could be no room in his teachings for the knowledge concerning God. Buddha did not consider such questions worth addressing. He thought that metaphysical questions only led to spiritual restlessness, so he tried to dissuade people from indulging in empty philosophical discussions.

27. Effect of Buddha's Teachings

(a) *Religious effect:* Buddha sought to free men from all kinds of religious bonds, put all of them on a level of equality and inspired them to lead a good life. His great personal magnetism, simplicity of his teachings and his message of doing good to others were bound to have a great effect on the people. Bewildered by the religious squabbles of the day and confused by the questions relating to such subjects as the nature of *atman* and God, past and future life, good deeds and sins, to which there were no answers, people flocked to him for guidance. Even mighty men, possessing great physical and mental powers, who had wrested kingdoms from ruling kings, embraced Buddhism and became its missionaries.

(b) *Political effect:* Many centuries ago some foreign adventurers had the audacity to invade India. However, the effects of these invasions were confined to the areas lying in the northern part of the country and in the Sind valley. Some centuries later this was followed by Alexander's invasion. But the people of India, even though spiritually somewhat confused, had not by that time lost their vigour altogether. They rallied to the defence of the country, their religion and freedom and checked Alexander's army on the banks of the Sutlej. The invaders could not intrude further into India, but the condition of the country remained no longer the same afterwards.

28. Buddhism as a Political Force

The discourses of Buddha and his disciples resulted in Buddha's followers known as *bhikshus* adopting a simple and austere lifestyle. This was further promoted by various contemporary rulers. Buddhism soon came to pervade

the religious atmosphere of the country and in the political sphere too it had its effect. The whole of Aryavarta was flooded for some time with the light of Buddhism. Buddha's teachings then spread across the river valleys of the Punjab and beyond the Himalayan heights in the north and the sea in the south. Political power became instrumental in spreading religion and thus religion became a camp-follower of politics. Rulers professing Buddhism held sway up to Bactria and the Tatar region of China in the north, Assam in the east and Ceylon in the south. This golden age of Buddhism lasted for about 500 years during which its political power was at its peak. During this period various arts and crafts also made good progress.

29. The Harmful Effect of Buddhism

But how long could this land of the Vedas, this land of faith, put up with the teachings of a godless creed? Man's spiritual hunger cannot be appeased only by reason and a good lifestyle. How long could the people who were completely immersed in the love of God remain unbelievers? By and by Buddhism lost its glamour, its teachings became outdated and Buddha lost his magnetic appeal. People realized that the creed which had sought to free man from the shackles of rituals had itself become entangled in knots. The purpose of Buddhism was to wean people away from the many ancient practices and rituals, but it had by now developed many complex rituals of its own. Though it aimed at making the people avoid religious controversies, in the course of time it itself got divided into various schools, and developed a vast amount of canons and varied religious literature which became the subjects of unending discussions between the different groups of people. Buddha was in favour of doing away with castes, but soon distinctions among Buddhists became more pronounced than even among the different castes of the Hindus. Different interpretations of Buddha's sermons led to the formation of different sects and gave rise to squabbles among them. Buddhism did not have any place for God. Even so, Buddhists raised Gautam Buddha to the status of God and began to worship him. God, being formless and possessing infinite attributes, could inspire His devotees to pursue high ideals, but Gautam Buddha, being a human being, could not do so. It was quite natural that raising him to the status of God and worshipping him should culminate in the worst kind of idol worship. It gave rise to the practice of installing statues of great men after their death. In the history of Aryavarta Buddhism must be held responsible for initiating idol worship.

30. Revival of the Vedic Religion

The Vedic religion did not completely vanish from India when Buddhism held sway. Though votaries of the Vedic religion remained subdued for some time,

they never abandoned the pursuit of the Vedic path. Even before the rise of Buddhism there had been seers and scholars like Patanjali, Jaimini and Vyasa who had founded philosophical schools for promotion of *bhakti*, *karma* and *jnana*. Similarly, *Sankhya*, *Nyaya* and *Vaisheshika* schools of philosophy are also full of insights. With the help of these philosophical schools votaries of the Vedic religion began to refute the arguments of Buddhists who described Buddha and his close companions as perfect men. In return, votaries of the Vedic religion depicted Rama and Krishna as incarnations of God. All such controversies tend to end in bitterness and acrimony and it also happened so with the Buddhists and votaries of the Vedic religion.

While Buddhists held the image of Buddha in their hearts, Vedic pundits spoke of *avatars* and advocated the worship of images of these *avatars*. In order to inspire the people to worship the *avatars* myths were created about them and thus many of the *Puranas* came into being.

31. Great Conflict Between Buddhism and the Vedic Religion

It should not be understood that Buddhism spread in India peacefully and departed also from here peacefully. In fact, Buddhists had waged great wars in order to spell the end of the Vedic religion and they resorted to the same at the time when Buddhism departed from here. In these civil wars there was loss of life on a large scale, several rulers and their families perished and a large number of people were exiled from India. Gautam Buddha's teachings of peace and good conduct became, in the hands of his followers, instruments of violence and destruction. However, the victory of Buddhism in India did not prove decisive and after some centuries the Vedic religion again raised its head and began to threaten the atheistic religion of Buddhists. This was in fact a great conflict between theism and atheism. At this time two great men were born who gave an entirely new shape to this conflict.

32. Shri Kumaril Bhatta and Swami Shankaracharya

Every Indian is familiar with the name of Shankaracharya who wrote a scholarly commentary on the *Brahmasutras*, expounding the *Vedanta* philosophy, which made the Vedic flag fly high in the world. Though Shankaracharya lived for only 32 years, his high intellect left a lasting impression on India. He inflicted a convincing defeat on Buddhism. He founded a new school called neo-*Vedanta*. He considered the *Upanishads* as part of the Vedic literature and called the whole corpus as the *Vedanta*. Shankara effectively refuted Buddhist arguments and preached Vedic theism. He became so engrossed in the love of God that for him no distinction was left between *jiva* and *Brahma*. The two, he declared, were one and the same. No doubt, the philosophy he expounded has grandeur

and his arguments forceful and valid, but if we ponder over it deeply we shall find that not recognizing the distinction between *jiva* and *Brahma* destroys the very basis of worship. If the two are really one, who is to worship whom? Who is to love whom? This philosophy cuts at the very root of *karma* and *karmaphal* and throws out of gear the divine law that regulates creation. *Advaita* may be a perfect philosophy, but it cannot be a religious creed. The oneness of *jiva* and *Brahma* is nowhere mentioned in the Vedas either. Shankara certainly upheld the Vedas but disregarded the *Samhitas* and related the Vedas with the *Upanishads*. The result was that though Buddhism was banished from the country and theism was reinstalled in the hearts of the people and the Vedas received due applause, the true Vedic religion was not reinstated. The *mantra* part of the Vedas was not presented before the people. The curtain that hid the divine knowledge from the man remained there even though people swore by the Vedas. If great Shankara himself could not lead the Aryan people to the cool springs of the Vedic *Samhitas*, how could the ordinary people be expected to do so? The *Samhita* part of the Vedas continued to remain unknown to the people. The ignorance of the Vedic religion, which had led to the decline of the Aryan race, remained unremedied. Shankaracharya stopped halfway to his destination and in the course of this incomplete journey expounded a philosophy which could only give rise to dry abstract arguments and theoretical nit-picking. Professor Goldstucker, a German Indologist, referring to the people of India, remarks that they neglect the work of religious reform and talk about political reform and want to become a nation enjoying the same rights as the people of Britain, but, he adds, they, in their zeal for political reform, forget the sad fate of imperial Rome. He further says that such people should remember that when a community leaves the path of religion its political decline sets in. However, it will serve no purpose to cite the example of Shankaracharya as the people are anxious only to achieve the so-called political reform. It is true that when Shankara took up cudgels against the forces of atheism that were entrenched in the country he gave recognition to a number of religious sects. The people who were unable to comprehend the formless *Brahma* were permitted by him to worship different gods. When an uncompromising non-dualist like Shankara, who held that Brahma alone was the creator of this phenomenal universe, compromised with dualism and declared that worshipping Vishnu and Shiva was not against the spirit of non-dualism, why should religious reformers of today bother about the plethora of religious sects and beliefs that exist in India? Professor Goldstucker explains, "Shankara, who was the foremost among the thinkers and scholars of India in medieval times, was opposed to all forms of worship which were not in accordance with the Vedas. He set for himself the goal of promoting the worship of the one, non-dual, formless *Brahma* who was the creator of the phenomenal universe. In his commentary on the

Brahmasutras, he endeavoured to propound that the names of various gods and goddesses occurring in the Vedas were in fact metaphors describing the Supreme God. In his commentaries on the *Upanishads*, he likens these gods and goddesses to *Daityas* and calls them enemies of the mankind. Even if it is supposed that he did not oppose the worship of different gods and goddesses by different sects, which is a popular belief with no solid evidence, this should not be construed as a weakness on his part. It is possible that he did so for practical reasons and also as a matter of policy to further his objective. Today, after the lapse of a thousand years, we can realize the great harm that polytheism has done to India, and, in my view, if it continues to exist for another thousand years, it may wipe out Hinduism."

Professor Goldstucker's words indicate how mistaken the Hindus were in trying to fight against Buddhism in order to safeguard their identity. They did not put up a fight against the dogmas and polytheism. Had Shankara raised his voice and refuted the false principles of polytheism, our country would have been spared the suffering that it had to endure. But the men who proclaimed the oneness of *jiva* and *Brahma* rejected the worship of one Supreme God. Thus, alas, the Aryans, though believing in the Vedas, were fated to remain away from them and thus also away from the real religious spirit.

33. Political Power of the Followers of the "Pauranic" Religion

I wrote above that while fighting against the Buddhists the *Pauranics* made use of the weapons of Buddhists themselves. The *Pauranic* thought had become part of Hinduism long before Shankara was born. For some time it sustained the Aryan race against the onslaughts of Buddhism and helped in keeping the flame of theism glowing and ultimately it was able to push Buddhism out of the country and destroy its political power. The Hindu system of beliefs got a new lease of life and the Hindu ways of worship, as described in the *Puranas*, spread to the areas formerly under the sway of Buddhism and even beyond them. This was a time of great achievements in the fields of literature and arts, which are even today a witness to the grandeur that the Hindu civilization had attained. The nine gems of the court of Vikramaditya were in fact the jewels of the crown of Hindu intellect. The names of Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti will ever shine in the literature of the world. Scholarship and fine arts had reached equally sublime heights. This was the result of the theistic belief that persisted in India for a short time after the defeat of Buddhism.

34. Fresh Process of Decline

The glimpse of the golden age was just momentary. After all, a flicker of flame cannot provide enduring light. A community or country, which considers false

Pauranic beliefs as truth and follows them, which allows itself to be tied with the chains of caste divisions, which surrenders its reason to sectarian thinking, which lets its intellect and religious beliefs be controlled by a particular caste, which gives up scholarly pursuit and adopts all sorts of evils, cannot for long remain happy and free from fear. This time the Brahmins caught the Hindus so tightly in their grip that they again and again became a prey to foreign invasions. The priests bound their *yajmans* with all sorts of rituals and ceremonies in a manner that they could never get rid of them. There are almost as many gods as the Hindu families. A vast corpus of *Tantra* literature was created for justifying all acts of debauchery and promiscuity done by *yajmans*. For how long could the people who indulged in such activities in the name of religion remain happy? The *Pauranic* thought was bound to degenerate into *Vama Marga* practices. The *Tantrik* sects at one time became so influential that even a scholar like Mahidhar could not remain free from their influence and in his commentary on the Vedas gave a *Tantrik* interpretation of them. Alas, the great Aryan race, which created the *Upanishads*, which devised elaborate codes for the management of public affairs, which gave to the world the metaphysical thought of a high order as well as the knowledge of algebra, geometry, astronomy, music and other arts, whose valiant warriors for thousands of years did not allow any foreign invader to cast a covetous eye on the country, which, even during the period of its decline produced great Sanskrit poets, fell into the dark pit of ignorance and became a prey to false and debilitating religious beliefs. What a great difference between the Vedic Aryans and the *Pauranic* Hindus, between the sacred Vedic *mantras* and the *Tantrik* literature of the age of *Puranas*, between the love that found expression in the *Upanishadic* way of worship and the disgusting practices of *Vama Margis*, between the bravery of the age of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* and the shadow-boxing of the *Pauranic* age! The period of the *Puranas*, in short, was an unfortunate period. Such is always the fate of a nation that turns away from its real God. As the deity, so the worshippers! I would have very much liked to write about some tall talks and empty verbiage of the *Pauranic* times, but considerations of space prevent me from doing so. I dare say only this much that if the readers doubt the correctness of my views they should read the *Puranas* and *Tantrik* texts themselves.

35. The "Pauranic" Religion and "Pauranic" State Bowed before Islam

At the time when religion in India was passing through a phase of crisis, in Arabia a great man was preaching a new creed. The monotheism of Islam was like a great fire whose intensity neither the idol worship nor the fire worship of Zoroastrians could resist. No scope of progress was left either for the worship

of idols or for the message of service preached by Jesus Christ. The wave of Islam, wherever it reached, swept everything before it. Intolerant, blood-thirsty, cruel and abusive, the soldiers of Islam, shouting "One God, one Prophet", set out on their campaigns of conquest. Setting fire to fields and hamlets, trampling green valleys under their horses' hooves, and conquering and pillaging the armies of Islam, they reached right up to Spain in Europe and Sind in India. In Sind they clashed with the Rajputs. Fired with religious fanaticism and prepared for martyrdom, they were driven by the desire for conquest and plunder. Which power in the world could have withstood such a tide? Shouting "Állah ho Akbar", they came out from their hovels in the desert with the determination to conquer or lay down their lives and go to heaven. As they galloped towards India, they swept off everything coming in their way. Thus the sword of Islam conquered country after country and converted large numbers of people to Islam. When the marauders had left their homes in Arabia, they were quite few in number and by the time they reached Sind their number had increased enormously. They were driven by the passion to kill or get killed. In Sind they were pitted against the Rajputs who, like them, were valiant but, unlike them, did not have the spirit that comes from religion. Muslim historians have testified to the fact that though Indians did not lack courage and valour, they, having become worshippers of stone, could not stand up to men worshipping one God.

The first to invade India was Mohammed-bin-Qasim. He attacked the port of Dewal in Sind. The battle continued for many days, with the Hindus repeatedly defeating the Muslims. The Muslims then evolved a stratagem. They shot arrows at the flag over the local temple and brought it down. This created a scare among the Hindus. They felt weakened, thinking that their god had deserted them. Mohammed-bin-Qasim now had not only the control of the Dewal port but also came to know how to scare and weaken the Hindus. The doors of India were now wide open for Islam. Having subdued the Hindus at Dewal, Mohammed-bin-Qasim advanced further into Sind. Muslim historians write that the local Hindu kings suffered because of the stupidity of the court astrologers, who told them that the stars of Muslim invaders were in the ascendant, that they were destined to be victorious, and that it was futile to fight against them. The Rajput warriors, and even the Rajput women, showed great bravery, but their bravery proved of no avail before the Muslim forces which, inspired by monotheism, were full of zeal. Thus *Pauranic* Hinduism and the Hindu kingdoms were vanquished by the Muslims.

36. The Vedic Sanskrit Transformed into the Sanskrit of "Pauranic" Age

Before proceeding further it would be better to deal with the changes that occurred in the Sanskrit language at this time. I mentioned earlier that the

language of the *Brahmanas* and *Upanishads* was not the language of the Vedas. The language of the Vedas had now changed to such an extent that Yaska, the author of *Nirukta*, found it necessary to explain that the names like *Agni* and *Vayu* used in the Vedas were only names of the Supreme God. From the *Upanishadic* age to the *Pauranic* age the Sanskrit language underwent several changes. The Sanskrit of the Vedas became the Sanskrit of everyday use. Meanings of words changed. It is true that in Buddha's time Sanskrit was not the spoken language but only the language of higher learning. The spoken language was Pali or Prakrit. With the decline of Buddhism Pali was almost completely replaced by Prakrit, and many Sanskrit dramas were written in that language. Prithvi Raj's court poet Chandra also has written a history of his times in this language.

The Vedic religion differs from the *Pauranic* religion to the same extent as the Vedic Sanskrit differs from the *Pauranic* Sanskrit. In his book *Science of Language*, Professor Max Muller states that the new Sanskrit differs from the Vedic Sanskrit as much as the modern Italian language differs from the Latin language, or the modern Indian vernaculars differ from the *Pauranic* Sanskrit. Hence it is obvious that the scholars of *Pauranic* times who wrote commentaries on the Vedas cannot be accepted as competent interpreters of the Vedas.

37. The Hindu Religion during the Islamic Period

Tracing the course of religious history we have reached the stage when the Vedic form of worship was replaced by *Pauranic* polytheism and even by the worship of man. This *Pauranic* polytheism was also suppressed by the monotheism of Islam which continued for about 700-800 years during which the *Pauranic* religion could not raise its head. During this period from time to time numerous saints and religious thinkers appeared on the scene and exhorted the people not to fall prey to the impurities and corruptions of the age. It would not be wrong to say that it was because of these saints and sages that Hinduism was able to survive. But the fact remains that throughout this long period no serious effort was made for the social and religious advancement of the Hindus. Because of several reasons tens of millions of Hindus discarded their religion and vast numbers belonging to lower castes embraced Islam. These lower-caste people had long been oppressed by the Brahmins and Kshatriyas who, because of feeling proud of their own castes, never allowed them to enjoy even the most elementary civic rights. Islam appealed to them because it did not consider anyone inferior on account of one's birth. Some people, because of greed and worldly considerations, abandoned the faith of their forefathers while others were converted to Islam by force. There were also numerous cases where

individuals adopted monotheism of Islam in order to get rid of idolatry and superstitions. The result was that in the course of a few centuries we yielded a quarter of our population to Islam. The Brahmins of the time made no attempt to check this trend. On the contrary, they tried to make caste restrictions even more rigid and observance of caste rules more strict. Even the slightest departure from these rules drew the penalty of ostracism. The efforts of a few reformers here and there to mend the situation could not do much except to put a slight check on mass conversions and induce some people to continue to remain in the fold.

38. Search for the Vedas during the Muslim Period

During this period people by and large followed the creeds based on *Pauranic* beliefs. Innumerable gods and goddesses were created, each of whom began to be worshipped by particular communities. It was a period marked by bankruptcy of thought. For almost eight hundred years Hindus were incapable of thinking logically. Their chief concern was survival. When you fear for your life and when your main preoccupation is following restrictions with regard to eating and drinking there is hardly any scope for serious thought. It is definite that pursuit of learning was neglected. Only Brahmins studied some Sanskrit in order to carry on their priestly vocation. If a Brahmin youth wanted to be a good scholar he studied a bit of grammar, a bit of *Dharmashastras* and some metaphysics. The Hindus in general dreamed of no scholarly achievement. They certainly were drawn to the study of Persian by considerations of political advantage. But the Vedas and the Vedic literature as the subjects of study had been forgotten. During the Muslim rule there were two occasions when for a time popular attention was turned towards the Vedas, but Brahmins either deliberately withheld Vedic knowledge from the people or they themselves did not possess it. The first occasion was during Akbar's reign. As we know, Akbar evinced interest in a comparative study of different religious faiths. He therefore got the scriptures of various faiths translated into Persian. He also expressed a wish for the translation of the Vedas but they could not be located. No one seemed to know anything about them. Akbar had to be content with having only the *Upanishads* translated. Even this translation, incomplete as it was, left its imprint on the scriptures of other faiths. Akbar's great-grandson, Dara Shikoh, was also impressed by the *Upanishads* and he completed the work of their translation. He found in the *Upanishads* precious gems and opined that in comparison to the *Upanishads* the scriptures of other faiths were of little value. Had Dara Shikoh, instead of Aurangzeb, succeeded to the Moghul throne he would have perhaps traced many other Sanskrit treasures but, becoming a victim of Aurangzeb, could not do so.

39. A New Form of Hindu Monotheism

With the passage of time Islamic monotheism began to totter in India and the faith propounded by Prophet Mohammed got entangled in the worship of tombs and Pirs. With the decline of Islam the Muslim rule also began to wane and soon the curtain fell on this part of the play that was being enacted on the world stage.

In the years of decline of the Moghul rule a new kind of *Advaita* philosophy arose in India which revived Hinduism. But its success was limited to the Punjab and Maharashtra. In the Punjab the new *Advaita* philosophy completely overcame Islam which suffered not only as a faith but also as a political power. But this reformation that was thus ushered in did not have a solid foundation, nor was it backed by scholarship. No reformation without a theoretical support can endure for long. At last Hindu orthodoxy managed to suppress it and it soon came to an end like a flash of lightning and the Hindu society was again rendered weak and helpless before the enemy.

40. Advent of Christianity and Search for the Vedas

About this time Christianity started making a place for itself in the country. It had the backing of scholarship and learning. By nature also Christian missionaries were different from Muslim *maulvies*. What they saw on arrival in India was darkness all round and they found religion to be in a terrible state. They realized that the people here were entangled in superstitions, lacked the courage of conviction, and were caught in the vicious grip of orthodoxy from which they could not free themselves. Missionaries could see that without educating the people it would be impossible for them to make the people accept a new religion. They also realized that it was necessary for them to acquire some knowledge of Hinduism in order to be able to criticize its dogmas. With this end in view Christian missionaries thought of studying Sanskrit. Till the middle of the sixteenth century they could make no headway in this direction as no Brahmin was ready to offer them his services as a teacher. However, in 1559 a learned Brahmin gave up his religion to embrace Christianity and started teaching Sanskrit to European missionaries. But this again did not prove very successful. In 1686 a missionary called Robert de Nobili disguised himself as a Brahmin and sought instruction in Sanskrit. He devoted a great part of his life in learning it. Proclaiming himself a Brahmin, he dressed as a Brahmin, wore the sacred thread, developed a topknot and smeared sandal paste on his forehead. Then equipped with his recently acquired knowledge of Sanskrit, he started denouncing Hindu religious beliefs. He told the people among whom he moved that he had come to disseminate the knowledge contained in the

fourth Veda (*Atharvaveda*) which had been almost lost. But all his labour went to waste as he could not procure original texts of the Vedas.and so could not study them. He passed some time like this. At last in 1833 Kameet Saheb, a missionary, made a statement in Karnataka, telling the Europeans that the missionaries neither knew Sanskrit nor had any knowledge of the Vedas. For the first time he made them aware of the fact that there were four Vedas, and that Brahmins believed them to have been created by God. The Vedas, he wrote, were the most sacred scriptures of Hindus and it was obligatory for all Hindus to obey their injunctions. He added that even the people who possessed copies of the Vedas were ignorant of their meaning as they were written in archaic Sanskrit which an ordinary Sanskrit knowing person could neither read nor understand. Without a commentary or proper glossary one could not hope to understand the Vedas. Before him another missionary, who worked between 1752 and 1774, had written, "Even though I am well versed in Sanskrit and can participate in a debate with learned men in that language, I am yet to see a Vedic text. Maybe they have disappeared and only their names are known." After much effort and incurring great expense Bishop Kameet was able to lay hands on the handwritten Vedas. With the help of some learned Brahmins he studied them earnestly and then his eyes were opened and he realized that in the fight against idolatry the Vedas could be the most effective weapon. He wrote, "Since I acquired the Vedas, I have culled from them passages which tell the truth. They can be an effective instrument in combating idol worship, for they preach the existence of only one God and also describe His attributes." Colebrook Saheb wrote in an article that for a long time there was a doubt in his mind about the very existence of the Vedas, and that even Indian scholars shared this doubt and were ignorant of the contents of the Vedas.

41. Raja Rammohun Roy and the Vedas

In most parts of the country people recited Vedic hymns and some people even learnt them by heart. But nobody ever dared interpret their meaning. During the first half of the nineteenth century Raja Rammohun Roy, founder of the Brahmo Samaj, referred to the Vedas and published translations of *Upanishads* to defend Hinduism against attacks by Christian missionaries. He did not publish translations of the Vedas but only of the *Upanishads,* as even he who was an eminent scholar did not give the *Upanishads* the status of the Vedas. He had neither studied the Vedas, nor had he the ability to do so.

42. Work of the Brahmo Samaj

Inadequate knowledge of our own religion made it difficult for us to stand up to the onslaught of Christianity just as it had been difficult for us to face Islam.

People unhesitatingly took up the study of English and Hindu young men began to desert the religion of their forefathers and embrace Christianity. The Brahmo Samaj did make an attempt to counter Christian beliefs and check the spread of Christianity, but without the knowledge of the Vedas it did not succeed in its efforts beyond a degree. The result was that there was no let-up in the pace of conversions, and those joining the Brahmo Samaj were themselves treated as crypto-Christians. This reform movement thus did not have any significant impact on the Hindu society.

43. Sanskrit Education according to the "Pauranic" System

The Brahmins who swore by the *Puranas* could not put a check on the spread of Christianity because their system of education was so faulty that they could not satisfy the doubters and sceptics. Had the *Pauranic* Brahmins pursued the study of Sanskrit and the *Shastras* properly and methodically, such scholars as the Reverend Kalimohan Banerji and Pandit Nilkanth Shastri, despite being well-versed in the *Shastras,* would not have abandoned their ancestral faith and embraced Christianity. How inadequate and defective the then existing Sanskrit education was is demonstrated by the fact that those newly converted to Christianity wrote two tracts denouncing the Hindu *Shastras* and eulogizing the Bible. If some learned men were to resort to this sort of act today people would laugh at their folly and denounce their attempt. But in 1861 these writings created such a furore in the people that a European scholar had to come forward to denounce them. Today it is unthinkable that a Sanskrit scholar can describe not only Kapila and Kanada but also Gotama and Jaimini as atheists. But in 1861 these two converts had the audacity to declare that the Hindu *advaita* was worthless in comparison to the third part of the Bible and the greatness of Jesus Christ. They appealed to their Hindu brethren to follow in their footsteps and embrace Christianity. I would have liked to reproduce extracts from their writings to show to my readers how they had distorted the teachings of the *Upanishads* and six systems of Hindu philosophy, but the size of my book does not permit this. Professor Goldstucker has also criticized them and made fun of their folly. However, I end this topic by saying that by reading the above writings one can better realize the worth and importance of the work of Maharshi Dayanand.

44. European Science Gave the Last Blow to the Hindu Religion and "Pauranic" Philosophy

I now come to the time when the British Government took the decision that along with the English literature the European science should also be taught in

schools. Acquaintance with the knowledge of modern science loosened the hold of *Pauranic* thoughts on the minds of Hindus. Whatever had survived of the Hindu religion after attacks by Muslim and Christian zealots was lost because of the influence of Western science. Foundations of the caste system began to become hollow. Young men on whom the country pinned hopes began to get out of the Hindu fold and many of them began to raise the flag of revolt against the Hindu way of life and the Hindu creed and customs and started embracing Christianity. Having studied science, those who were not drawn to Christianity became atheists. Those who embraced Christianity were separated from their families and thus their wives were widowed even though they were alive, their children were orphaned and parents were devastated. Thus conversions separated wives from husbands, children from parents and fathers from sons. The Hindu society was filled with consternation and the whole atmosphere became gloomy. No one could think of a way out. Those who preferred atheism instead of Christianity also caused distress to their elders and other members of their families. The soul of the country was thus plunged in agony. People desperately wished a great leader was born who could save the country from such a dismal situation.

45. Sympathy of European Scholars for India

Not only Indians entertained such a wish, even among the British there were people sympathetic to India who shared this wish. This was but natural as whose heart would not be moved to see a great Hindu race getting drowned in the sea of degradation? Those who knew about the teachings of the *Upanishads* and had some idea of the past greatness of India could not but feel sad to see this ship sinking. When in the course of their duties as administrators Englishmen had the opportunity to study the history of India, they were filled with wonder. Some Sanskrit scholars like Sir William Jones, Professor Colebrook, Lord Elphinstone and Dr. Muir did a great deal of research work and brought many old Sanskrit books to light. This roused the sympathy of entire Europe for India and it also became clear to the British rulers that the people who were being governed by them were not uncouth subhumans as they had considered them to be. Having come to know about our literature and philosophy they came to have respect for us.

46. Professor Goldstucker's Opinion about the Vedas

Between 1861 and 1871 Professor Goldstucker wrote two or three articles on the Vedas. These articles are so valuable and full of such good ideas that I reproduce here some extracts from them for the benefit of my readers.

Commenting on the mutiny of 1857, Professor Goldstucker says, "In the aftermath of these disturbances we Europeans have become a little wiser than before. Now when we think of the wonderful literature of ancient India we are filled with joy. We can no longer overlook the innumerable evidences of the high intellect of Hindus and their great ability. We have now come to realize that in the traditions and customs of these people there is something which has kept them together in spite of great changes in history. The religious causes that operated behind the events of 1857 are a pointer that we should leave the Hindus free to follow their own traditions and customs". Here the writer has obviously pointed to the religious freedom promised by Queen Victoria in the Royal Proclamation of 1858.

Professor Goldstucker further writes, "In the advancement of India the greatest difficulty arises because of the issue of religious freedom, and now no government can be indifferent to this. Obviously, no legislation or alien culture or creed can help resolve this question. It is therefore a happy augury that Hindu scholars themselves have begun expressing a desire for the solution of this question. A debate has already begun on the articles written by the Reverend K.M. Banerji and Pandit Nilkanth Shastri denouncing Hinduism and supporting Christianity." Professor Goldstucker also shows how the Vedas, considered by the Hindus as sacred books, differ from the Bible and the books of other religious faiths. He adds that it would be futile to attempt to convert to Christianity the people who possess such sacred books as the Vedas. He regrets that Christian missionaries do not realize the harm that their proselytizing activities may cause. Of course, if an individual is convinced of the superiority of a particular faith and voluntarily adopts it, no harm is caused. But if someone, without considering the pros and cons, abandons his own faith, he becomes separated from the national mainstream. The community which gives up its own religion cuts off its very roots. The history of a religion based on some sacred book reflects the state of the people who follow it considering it vital for their existence. Goldstucker further says that if proof is needed to establish the truth of this observation, it can be found in the history of Christianity itself. When Christianity spread across Europe the people who adopted it made it their national religion, the reason being that prior to that they had no holy book of their own. The Jews had *Torah,* so they never embraced Christianity even though *Torah* was accepted by the Christians also as their own holy book. They also had to face unspeakable sufferings and exiles. Professor Goldstucker argues that no book can be considered holy if its teachings do not help one in one's spiritual uplift. In his view holy books of all the religions do contain such teachings. He quotes from the above article of Dr. Banerji also to demonstrate that the teachings of the Vedas and *Upanishads* are in no way inferior to the teachings of the Bible. He also tells what the Hindus should do during the

modern period. He writes that to convert Hindus to Christianity or to induce them to accept the Bible as their holy book is not only foolish but also futile.

Goldstucker further writes: "I earnestly wish that Hindus may regain their former eminence so that they may deserve to be called inheritors of a great legacy. They cannot hope to attain this if they abandon their own religious beliefs and practices and adopt those of others. It is also very important that they should fully realize their present plight. I need hardly mention that educated sections among the Hindus do not like the prevailing religious practices. But it is also true that the notion they have formed about the decay of the Hindu faith is erroneous.

"Every Hindu, when asked about the source of his religion, mentions the Vedas. Occasionally he may mention the *Puranas* and the *Tantras,* but he does not consider them on a par with the Vedas. If the teachings contained in these works are found not to be consistent with the teachings of the Vedas, they cannot be accepted as holy books. They can be treated as holy books only if their teachings are in conformity with the Vedas. But, unfortunately, no such effort is made by anybody, otherwise every Hindu can be made to realize that idol worship prevalent today is not sanctioned by the Vedas." Goldstucker adds, "The Vedas are the axis round which all the creeds and religious beliefs of India revolve. Adherents of every sect, whether Vaishnava or Shaiva, recognize the supremacy of the Vedas. The question then arises: What are the Vedas? On the answer to this question, however incomplete it may be, depends the solution of all religious problems faced by India."

Professor Goldstucker then proceeds to show that even though ancient Aryans held the *Upanishads* and *Brahmanas* in great reverence and made use of them in their study of the Vedas, they never assigned to them the status of *Shruti.* In the opinion of this scholar only the *Rigveda* can be treated as *Shruti.*

47. Professor Goldstucker's Appeal

In the end Goldstucker appeals to Hindu scholars to make selections of sacred utterances from the Vedas and present them before the world so that people should know that the religious beliefs and thoughts of Hindus are in no way inferior to those of any other people. He admits that this task is arduous but says it is of utmost importance. He suggests that scholars of various provinces should form committees for this work and conduct debates and discussions and thus disseminate Vedic teachings among the people. Only then, he adds, they will be able to repay the debt they owe to their ancestors and which has remained unpaid for so many centuries. Every Hindu should realize that he has a right to the legacy of his ancestors only if he assiduously carries out his

religious duties. But today Hindus claim the right to their ancestral inheritance without discharging their religious duties. How many Hindus are there who perform *Brahma Yajna* and regularly read scriptures? The authors of *Manusmriti* and *Chhandogya Upanishad* consider these as the most important duties of Hindus. It is not an exaggeration to say that today the attachment of Hindus to their scriptures is as fragile as a thread which may snap any moment. Every Hindu considers it his religious duty to perform the *shraddha* ceremony in the memory of his ancestors, but how many Hindus know that prayers to ancient sages and forefathers can be offered only through *Brahma Yajna?*

Professor Goldstucker cites a story from the *Mahabharata* to make the point that if every member of a Hindu family realizes his duty towards his forefathers, the prevailing situation can be improved. Need it be mentioned that it is because of the folly of Hindus that Sanskrit education has come to such a sorry pass today? Is it not a fact that centuries of neglect on the part of Hindus has caused irreparable harm to their literary heritage? Numerous priceless Sanskrit works are today quite untraceable. Even some of the works which exist would not have been available but for the painstaking efforts of European scholars. Goldstucker appeals to Hindus: "For God's sake wake up and cleanse your religion of the impurities that have crept into it. Do not let whatever is left of your intellectual and spiritual excellence be destroyed. Collect together what remains of your ancient language and literature and set up libraries and academies to preserve and carry forward that legacy. The world respects only the race that respects itself." May God inspire my Hindu brethren to act upon the appeal of Professor Goldstucker!

48. Birth of Swami Dayanand Saraswati

About the time when Raja Rammohun Roy was trying to protect Hinduism from the onslaughts of Christianity by placing before the public translations of the *Upanishads,* in Kathiawar in an Audichya Brahmin family a child was being brought up who was destined to spread the Vedic religion and be an instrument of religious reform. At the time when large numbers of the Hindu youth were deserting Hinduism and embracing Christianity, causing an uproar in the Hindu society, in a forest along the banks of the Narmada, a young *dandi* sannyasi was engaged in penance for achieving the very goal mentioned in Professor Goldstucker's appeal. And just about the time when this scholar was penning his appeal, a young *bal brahmachari* who had renounced the world and become a sannyasi was learning the Vedic grammar from a blind sannyasi in Mathura and was preparing himself for the task which lay before him. That Brahman boy and *dandi* sannyasi was Swami Dayanand and the enlightened sannyasi who was training him for upholding the Vedic religion and refuting

the *Puranas* was Virjanand Saraswati. Blessed was that *guru* and blessed that pupil who rescued the sinking boat of the Vedic religion and showed the path of lifting the Hindus from the mire of degeneration. Although Swami Dayanand, not knowing English, had not read Goldstucker's appeal or even heard about it, he took the message to heart and endeavoured to act upon it.

Swami Dayanand was born at a time when the Hindus, while discarding the dilapidated building of Muslim rule and emerging from it, were being drawn into the tentacles of another powerful community. He was brought up at a time when the Brahmo Samaj was engaged in spreading the message of ancient Arya religion and when Christianity was gaining strength. He was pursuing penance and practising spiritual discipline at a time when the country was facing political and spiritual crises. He was learning the Vedic grammar at a time when in the Punjab a new scheme of education was being introduced. He entered the field of action at a time when Hindus were eagerly awaiting the emergence of a great soul. Since it was the need of the hour, God inspired him to act and save the Vedic religion, show the right path to the Aryan race, infuse new life into the dying Sanskrit language and interpret the Vedic literature in a scholarly manner. It is indisputable that the advent of Dayanand gave a new life to the Vedic religion and literature and to the Sanskrit language.

49. Swami Dayanand Was a Great Man

Millions of individuals take birth and die in the world every day. Some are born with great pomp and their birth is marked with rejoicings, announcements in newspapers and blessings of their families and relatives. In places of worship prayers are offered for their long life, steps are taken to ensure their safety for every minute, their activities are praised as great achievements, and the society develops great expectations from them. But unfortunately most of such persons disappoint the people. By their deeds they soon show that the hopes the society had from them were misplaced. Some of them, completely lacking in manners, bring dishonour to their parents. The departure of such persons from the world causes no sorrow, rather people feel relieved that a burden has been lifted from the earth. On the other hand, some persons come into the world almost in obscurity. Only their family members and close relatives are aware of their birth. Nobody celebrates their coming into the world as a great event. A great part of the lives of such persons is spent in anonymity and often they die in obscurity. There is nothing remarkable about their birth, life and death. Then there are those who are born, brought up and educated in humble circumstances, but later they begin to be counted among the famous persons. Their actions make an impact in their country if not in the world. When they die, their deaths are mourned by a large number of people and their deeds are remembered

by all. Their fame lasts for some time and after a generation or two they are also forgotten by the people and are remembered only on special occasions.

But there is also another category of people who are very few in number. They are born in obscurity and brought up in obscurity. But when they enter the arena of action, they soon draw, by their intellect, insight, perseverance, ability, humanity and courage, the world's attention towards themselves. Carlyle describes such persons as sparks of the fire that is worshipped by the mankind. Such persons are like the sun, lighting up the world by their radiance. Their deaths are mourned not only by a small circle of people but by the entire mankind. Their fame becomes permanent and their achievements do not end with them. Their fame does not fade after a few years or even after a few centuries, but remains ever fresh. The light that they radiate does not illumine only a particular section of the people but the entire world and that too for ever. Their actions are not of passing importance but continue to be talked about and debated age after age. Such persons who are very few in number act as the beacon light to their contemporaries and satisfy their spiritual hunger. In their discourses people get nourishment for their souls. Such persons are considered as incarnations of God and are called Prophets or divine sages or divine men. No part of the globe is devoid of such persons. Lord Krishna, Gautam Buddha, Maharshi Vyasa, Gotama, Kanada, Jaimini, Kapila, Patanjali, etc., belonged to this category. So were Swami Shankaracharya, Guru Nanak and Guru Govind Singh, and so also were King Vikramaditya , Ashoka and Shivaji. I have mentioned these names only as examples.

I am quite certain that Swami Dayanand belonged to this category of great men. He was born in obscurity, brought up in obscurity and educated in obscurity. But once he entered the arena of action he roared like a lion. So long as he lived, Swamiji infused new life into a dying race. He lifted a great religion from the pit of darkness and placed it on the summit shining with light. He drew a great language like Sanskrit out of obscurity and made it occupy the foremost place among the languages of the world. He inspired the people to come out of the hidebound orthodoxy. Whatever test be applied, Swami Dayanand is proved to be a great man. Physically too he was great. He had a low opinion of the people who were physically weak. He had tremendous physical strength and self-control. As long as he lived he never showed any weakness for women. Even his worst enemies never entertained any suspicion about his strict celibacy.

Being a votary of non-attachment Swamiji did not have the slightest hesitation in giving up his father's property and money. On numerous occasions he was offered enormous wealth and given the temptation of leading a luxurious life but he always remained unmoved. He had a sharp intellect and phenomenal memory and nobody among his contemporaries could equal him in this respect.

In scholarship and moral character he was above everybody. In the knowledge of Sanskrit he had no peer. He was fearless and remained true to his convictions till his death. There was a time when the whole world stood against him. But his ability to explain and propagate his views was unparalleled. He did not fear either a king or a subject or anyone belonging to his family or caste or any other caste. He was capable of unremitting toil and never felt tired. If we look at his achievements during the very short span of time during which he lived we can have an idea of his tremendous capacity for work. His writing ability, oratory and debating skill were extraordinary. He had the unique ability to draw people to himself. Whoever came in his contact could not but be impressed by his personality. He was a great yogi but did not have a false sense of pride on account of it. Rather, he always hesitated to use his yogic powers. Any kind of hardship, far from putting him off, only strengthened his determination to face it. He never went out of his way to cultivate friendship with anybody, nor he ever nursed any feeling of enmity against anyone. Very often it so happened that those who professed friendship for him became his enemies and his enemies made friends with him. In both the cases he remained unaffected. The time has not yet come to evaluate Swamiji's work, but there is no doubt that one day his name will resound throughout the world. When Sanskrit regains its pre-eminent position in the world, Swamiji will be accorded the highest position among the great men of the world and his mission and work will be looked upon with respect.

50a. Work of Swami Dayanand Saraswati

Swamiji was still a child when it struck him that worshipping idols was not true worship but its distortion. This thought became ingrained in his mind and he could never cast it off. He made fun of idol worship in the very presence of his parents and though he incurred the wrath of his father on account of it he never forsook his conviction. Neither during his student days nor after becoming a sannyasi he ever concealed his disapproval of idolatry and so long as he lived he thundered against it. Weaning people away from this form of worship and leading them towards the worship of the formless Supreme God became a great mission of his life. As everyone knows, he never let the light that he saw as a child get dim. Every Hindu knows that since the time of the *Upanishads* no one has been as courageous and uncompromising an opponent of idol worship as Dayanand. Everyone, be he a Christian or a Muslim, a votary of the *Puranas* or an advocate of the Vedanta, or even a Buddhist, knows that Dayanand never had the slightest respect for idol worship. For his opposition to idol worship he was denounced as an atheist by the people of his own community, speaking his own language, following his own religion and even

by scholars. Some even said that he was on the pay rolls of Christian missionaries and an enemy of religion. But this lion of a man remained unmoved.

Many times learned men belonging to his own caste directly and indirectly pleaded with him to give up his opposition to idol worship. If he agreed to do so, they said, they would declare him an incarnation of God Vishnu and then he would be worshipped by all. But Swamiji remained undeterred. He had taken a stand and nothing or no one could make him budge from it. Many rajas, maharajas and feudal chiefs advised him,.overtly and covertly, to desist from denouncing idol worship. Temptations of all kinds were offered, threats of life and maiming were held out and warning was also given that if he persisted doing so it would bring him only dishonour and ignominy. But they were of no avail. Wherever Swamiji came across idol worship in any form, he spoke out against it. Repugnance for the worship of a lifeless stone was so deeply ingrained in him that nothing could wipe it out from his heart. No fewer than 300 learned men from Banaras and Calcutta and philosophers from Nodia (Navadwipa) argued with him and tried to persuade him to forsake his campaign against idol worship, but all was in vain. The rulers of Jaipur, Udaipur, Jodhpur, Indore and Banaras also tried to make him change his stand but to no avail. Muslims and Christians are in theory opposed to idolatry. But in their rituals also Dayanand observed elements of idolatry and criticized them. He held that idol worship was not only against reason but also against the teachings of the Vedas, *dharma* and civilized behaviour, and that the political slavery of India was its inevitable consequence. He was convinced that so long as Hindus did not give up idolatry, there could be no political and social progress of the Hindu society. He therefore channelised all his energy and spiritual and intellectual powers to the task of eliminating idol worship. Who does not know that he made many a great votary of idol worship tremble? He caused a stir in the still waters of the Hindu society and forced the Hindu pundits to refer to the Vedas to ascertain whether they sanctioned idol worship.

Swamiji considered the Vedas as being the repository of all knowledge. Had he discovered any Vedic text justifying idol worship he would perhaps have revised his views. But it was something impossible. In fact, the efforts of Swamiji to purge the Hindu religion of the worship of idols could not be equalled to the efforts made even by Shankaracharya. Idol worship was used as a weapon against Hinduism by its enemies. But they were disarmed by Swamiji's contention that idol worship was against the basic principles of Hinduism. Thus a distorted view of Hinduism as being depicted by Muslims and Christians in their campaign of vilification was finally put to an end by Swamiji's teachings. They could not now mislead the masses by saying that Hinduism promoted idol worship and invite them to join their folds. The force of their argument was ended and hundreds of thousands of people who might have deserted

Hinduism and embraced other religions now had no reason to do so. Had Swami Dayanand done nothing except carrying on his crusade against idolatry, it would have been enough to immortalize him. But, as we shall see, there are many other great achievements to his credit. However, it can certainly be said that fighting against idolatry was the chief mission of Swami Dayanand.

The next great task that Swamiji undertook was one of releasing the Hindu society from the prison of Brahminical orthodoxy. He accorded a place of supremacy to the Aryan intellect and in order to sharpen it further he imparted the knowledge of Vedic *mantras*. In his times the intellect of Hindus had become dull and no one seemed to have any idea as to how to improve the situation. One way out seemed that the Hindus should abandon their own religion and become converts to an alien religion. However, people were at a loss to decide what they should do. The people of the so-called lower castes did not even have the right to education. If a Shudra even listened to Vedic hymns, the penalty prescribed for it was pouring of molten lead into his ears. But Swamiji gave him the right even to recite Vedic *mantras* and thus freed him from a great bondage. Swamiji taught the lesson of *Gayatri* to the entire Arya community and said that one should pray for purity of mind which was more important than even knowledge.

Swamiji explained to the people that God was man's greatest preceptor, and that His teachings were perfect and free from any bias. When He sent man into the world He also showed him the best way to complete his life's journey which was the only way free from all fears and pitfalls. Since the creation of the world man was supposed to seek guidance from his intellect. Swamiji told the Aryans that God was the origin of all knowledge and all truth in the world, and that His teachings were contained in the Vedic *mantras*. The Vedas were therefore the treasure trove of mankind and everyone had the right to seek guidance and gain knowledge from them. There could be no screen or wall between God who was the Supreme Preceptor and man. Swamiji dismantled all walls erected by human selfishness between God and man and made it possible for all to see the light. He made people aware of the fountain from which all streams of knowledge issued. He presented a glimpse of that divine radiance which lights up all little lamps of worldly knowledge, which was one of the great missions of his life. Those who themselves were ignorant of the teachings of the Vedas tried out of obstinacy and bias to prevent others also from acquiring the Vedic knowledge. But Swamiji did his best to spread the Vedic knowledge and the result was that everybody particularly the Brahmins began to say that the Hindu religion was based on the Vedas. But the irony was that neither the Brahmins nor the general public knew about the contents of the Vedas.

In 1862 a libel case came up before the Bombay High Court. The case

was based on a news item published in a journal, *Satyaprakash,* accusing the then Acharya of the Vallabh sect of misconduct. It was argued that while the Hindu scriptures did not sanction any immoral act the Acharya of the Vallabh sect was guilty of several such acts, which was a proof of the fact that that sect was a new and heretical sect. The writer of the news item had emphasized that the real knowledge about Hinduism lay in the Vedas alone. But it became clear during the trial that neither he nor the Acharya who had filed the libel case had any knowledge as to what was contained in the Vedas. The Acharya deposed that the Vedas and *Puranas* comprised the Hindu scriptures, but confessed that he was not familiar even with their titles, which was the height of ignorance. Swami Dayanand came to know about the ignorance of Hindus regarding the Vedas on a number of occasions. In Banaras learned men such as Vishuddhanand and Bal Shastri once held a religious discussion with Swamiji and gave him a few pages containing some hymns from the *Grihya Sutras,* saying that they were Vedic *mantras,* which was quite incorrect. Leave aside this event of the past, even today the Sanatan Dharma Sabha of Lahore holds that the *Puranas,* like the Vedas, were created by God, and that they are as ancient as the Vedas. Anyone having even an elementary knowledge of Sanskrit knows that whatever one may think about the divine authorship of the Vedas, there is no doubt at all with regard to their antiquity. Even European scholars of Sanskrit who preceded Dayanand admitted that Hindu scholars never expressed the view that the *Puranas* were created by God. In this context Professor Goldstucker writes, "When a community, on being misled by its religious leaders or because of ignorance, comes to look upon such comparatively recent works as the *Puranas* as the source of divine knowledge, it is bound to fall to the lowest bottom from which it would be difficult for it to rise. The Hindu community appears to have already reached that bottom and now it is to be seen what happens of it. It has remained in its present state for the past several centuries. But the political and social circumstances that now prevail will not permit it to remain static for long. This controversy was started with the Hindus describing the *Puranas* as the source of their religion, which led to the rise of various sects and which proved to be the cause of the undoing of both the religion and society. A host of such taboos and restrictions arose as were shameful in the extreme and several customs came into vogue which became a source of worry and shame for the Hindus. This is not the place to examine such customs in detail. However, instances of some degrading rituals of *Tantra* can be given here. Some journals published today from Bombay, Banaras and Calcutta are a testimony to the poisonous nature of the *Puranas* and the *Tantrik* literature. Contemporary scholars, although critical of these false beliefs and vicious practices associated with the religion, are unable to do anything to meet the danger facing Hinduism. They can do something in this direction only if they

boldly diagnose the disease. Only then they can save the Hindus from these degrading scriptures."

In this context, the above writer, referring to the Reformation in Europe, writes, "The only way to check this evil is to make it possible for the ordinary people to refer to the original books of their religion which are today the monopoly of a small section of the Brahmins, who claim to be the sole interpreters of their contents. All Hindus should read the Vedas so that they may know that the source of their religion is not the *Brahmana* literature or the *Puranas* but only the *Rigveda.*"

We know that this appeal of Professor Goldstucker was ignored by the learned men of Bombay, Banaras and Calcutta. If there was anyone who thought on similar lines and acted accordingly for reforming the Hindu religion he was Swami Dayanand. Swamiji cited chapter and verse from the Vedas to prove that the *Puranas* were never, or could never be, accepted as containing the divine knowledge or the word of God. Anyone going through the *Puranas* will agree with this view of Swamiji who conclusively proved that among the Hindu religious works only the four Vedas could be accepted as containing the word of God, and that the *Upanishads*, *Brahmanas* and *Dharmashastras* were the works of seers which derived their sanctity from the Vedas and were sacred only to the extent they were consistent with the contents of the Vedas. Thus, according to him, only the four Vedas contain the divine knowledge and only they are the basis of the Vedic religion and the final texts of reference so far as we are concerned. According to the scholars of the *Shastras* also the Vedas are self-proven and contain nothing but truth.

50b. Second Great Work of Swami Dayanand

Having been taught by Swamiji to accept the Vedas as the source of divine knowledge, it becomes necessary for us to understand the meaning of the Vedas, otherwise they would be of no benefit to us. Dayanand noticed that since the Vedic times the Sanskrit language had undergone vast changes. When he looked up the commentaries that existed he realized the mistakes their authors had committed. These mistakes had been committed because the commentators while interpreting the Vedas had applied the changed rules of the Sanskrit language. However, scholars in general consider Sayana's commentary as the most authentic. According to European scholars, Sayana lived about 500 years ago when a large part of India was under Mughal rule. His commentary bears the impress of *Puranas.* He also believed in idol worship. He and Mahidhar, who was also a commentator and a *Tantrik*, interpreted the Vedas according to the rules of Sanskrit prevailing in their own times. They ignored not only *Nirukta* but also *Nighantu*, which contained synonyms and obsolete and obscure Vedic

terms, and the grammar of Panini. They gave their own interpretations to some *mantras* which had been translated by the authors of *Brahmanas* and *Upanishads*. The result was that the interpretation of the Vedas was completely distorted. At the time when the knowledge about the Vedas was almost non-existent, people had no choice but to read the commentaries of Sayana and Mahidhar. However, the real meaning of the Vedas could not be grasped and so the Vedas were supposed to be beyond comprehension. The Brahmo Samaj, eager to know what the Vedas contained, sent four young Brahmins to Banaras to study the Vedas, and on their testimony it declared that the Vedas could not be accepted as the word of God. It thus rejected the view expressed not only by ancient seers but also by Raja Rammohun Roy. In the beginning European scholars too largely drew upon the commentaries of Sayana and Mahidhar to understand the Vedas. But soon they realized that doing so was not free from risk. No one in Aryavarta had the courage to discard the commentary of Sayana and write a fresh one. There were several reasons for this. In the first place, Brahmins in general had lost the capacity to think. They could only follow the beaten track and no revolutionary breakthrough could be expected from them in any sphere of learning. They were just following in the footsteps of their forebears and did not have the courage to deviate from their path even in the slightest degree. Even if a person like Dayanand had been born in those times, because of the conditions existing then he would not have been able to move forward at all. Even if a revolutionary like Swami Virjanand had appeared on the scene, he too would not have been able to do much. The fact is that after Shankaracharya no one except Swami Dayanand had the courage to ignore the commentaries of Sayana and Mahidhar and write a fresh one. Swamiji firmly believed that the intellect of Hindus would shine only when they freed themselves from the false beliefs of the so-called learned men of medieval times. He himself undertook this courageous task and tried to spread the Vedic knowledge among the masses so that even ordinary people could imbibe it according to their mental capability. After an interval of two thousand years he was the first person to explain to Hindus that the words *Indra*, *Agni*, *Vayu*, etc., occurring in the Vedas were the several names of God. The grammar of the Vedas was not different from Panini's *Ashtadhyayi* and to understand the Vedas one did not have to seek guidance from Sayana and Mahidhar. True guidance to understand the Vedas could be received only from *Nirukta*, *Nighantu*, the *Upanishads* and the *Brahmanas*. Swamiji also explained to Hindus the meaning of such words as *yajna* and *devata* and taught them how to interpret these words in particular contexts. The result was that the people at large recognized Swamiji's scholarship. Though some people did not accept his commentary as reliable, they had no courage to point out its faults. European scholars were of course quick to benefit from Swamiji's work. They could now reject Sayana's

commentary and interpret the Vedic *mantras* independently. It is to be noted that Western scholars did not have an adequate knowledge of old Sanskrit or ancient religious scriptures and were only novices in that sphere. Sanskrit is not a language which can be mastered within a short time. Translations of the Vedas done by European scholars were therefore not of much use to Hindus. Professor Max Muller had published a translation of some *mantras* of the *Rigveda*, a second edition of which has recently been brought out. A comparison of the two editions shows how fast European scholars' understanding of the Vedas is changing. In his preface to the translation, Professor Max Muller admits that it is only after a hundred years of hard work that European scholars have been able to understand the meaning of many of the Vedic *mantras*. In his view learning Sanskrit is a time-consuming task and is like solving riddles. He rightly says that to grasp the true meaning of the Vedas efforts of centuries are required because the Sanskrit language has been undergoing changes over thousands of years. It is only to be expected that to understand those changes great patience and much time are needed. I shall deal with this topic in detail later. Here it would suffice to say that writing an authentic commentary on the Vedas was an important task accomplished by Swami Dayanand.

50c. The Third Great Work of Swami Dayanand was Writing a Commentary on the Vedas

Swami Dayanand had the foresight to realize that the reform of Hinduism could not be brought about by a single individual or in a short span of time or, in other words, the revival of the Vedic religion was a task that could not be accomplished by any individual in his lifetime. Swamiji therefore considered it necessary to set up an organization which could continue the work started by him. This organization, according to him, would preach the worship of one formless God, reject the doctrine of idol worship and also carry on a campaign against it, and for understanding the Vedas it would seek help only from the ancient scriptures.

Swamiji was born and brought up in a Hindu family. He read the Hindu scriptures and considered them as his sole guide. He accepted the Aryan system of four *ashramas*. But he also realized the need for reforming the Hindu religion. Having understood the ancient sacred religion of Hindus this pious man realized that without religious reform revival of Hinduism was not possible. He spent a long time of his life in the quest of true religion. He did not undertake any other work except that of religious reform as he realized that religion being the soul of India, India's national revival was possible only through religious reform. He therefore founded an organization with the object of promoting religious reform and propagating the real Vedic *dharma*.

It is necessary here to mention that Swamiji never intended to found a new sect. He only wanted that the old withering tree of ancient Vedic religion should be tended and given a new life. He wanted a reform, not a revolution that might end in anarchy. He therefore formulated no new principles for the Arya Samaj that he founded but laid emphasis only on two cardinal principles – (1) that the fountain and original source of all knowledge is God and that it can be gained only through the Vedas, and (2) that God is formless and unborn and to worship Him is our foremost duty. These two principles formed the basis of all his thoughts. He held that without an implicit belief in these two principles no work of religious reform was possible. He knew that Hindus could be united only on the basis of these two principles and that in their absence no unity was possible. He made these two principles the bedrock of the Aryan religious unity.

The Arya Samaj was first founded in Bombay. Among the principles laid down for it there were the above-mentioned two principles also. Later they were reviewed at Lahore and some rules were also framed for the functioning of the organization. Special attention was paid to the subjects relating to God and Vedic studies for which three rules were framed. In fact these three rules are the main rules of the Arya Samaj.

The ideas of Swami Dayanand in regard to the Vedas are to be found in his *Rigvedadibhashyabhumika* and *Satyarth Prakash*. He holds that all the four Vedas were revealed by God and that no one can be permitted to question this fact. In drafting the creed of the Arya Samaj, he chose not to use his own language but the language of ancient religious scriptures. The principles formulated in Bombay contained the words "in this Samaj only the Vedas will be considered as the final authority on any issue"; and the rules framed at Lahore declared that "the Vedas are the only source books for all truth and knowledge". With the exception of Buddhists there is none who does not accord to the Vedas the same high status as has been accorded in Rule 3 of the Arya Samaj. Swamiji only propounded the principles about which all the authors of ancient *Shastras* were unanimous. He did not formulate any new principle. He was told on numerous occasions that if he gave up insistence on Rule 3 people would join the Arya Samaj in large numbers. But Swamiji remained firm. He could not conceive of any religion outside the Vedas to which he strictly stuck. It was not his aim to unite the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj. The aim he set before him was to make the Vedas the main spiritual support of the Aryan race and to prove that they were the original source of religion. Had he not firmly adhered to this view he would not have gained the high position that he did in the Aryan community. It is inconceivable that Hinduism can survive without the Vedas. In the absence of divine knowledge religion is blind and lame. Without divine knowledge religion is incomplete. Many members of the

Arya Samaj too wanted Swamiji to modify Rule 3 so as to lessen the emphasis on the Vedas. But Swamiji did not relent, which is an indication of his greatness.

50d. The Fourth Great Work of Swamiji was the Founding of the Arya Samaj

Did Swami Dayanand think that the aim of the Arya Samaj was only to preach the worship of one Supreme God and demonstrate to the world that the Vedas were the only source of true knowledge or did he have any other aims in his mind? The remaining rules of the Arya Samaj do not answer this question, although Rule 6 does declare that doing good to mankind, that is, working for the physical, spiritual and social progress of the humanity is the main aim of the Arya Samaj. However, it should not be considered that in Swamiji's programme there is no scope for working for the advancement of the country and the nation. In a letter dated 1st April 1878, written from Danapur, Swamiji stated, "As desired by you, I sent to you yesterday, 31st March 1878, two printed sheets of paper (containing the ten main objectives of the Arya Samaj). Please do acknowledge them and after understanding the rules well start working, according to the injunctions of the Vedas, with faith, love and devotion for the advancement of the country and for mitigating the suffering of the people without caring for your own pains and pleasures as it was from this country that knowledge and happiness had spread throughout the world. Instead of the Hindu Maha Sabha, the name of the organization should be Arya Samaj, because in the Vedas we have been described as the Aryans and the country as Aryavarta." In another letter dated 12th April 1878, Swamiji wrote, "Now you should have before you the aim of reforming the country." It may be noted that the ten rules of the Arya Samaj were laid down in 1877 and the letters referred to above were written in 1878. These letters show what Swawamiji thought about the aims of the Arya Samaj. Is it not clear from this that Swamiji was not one of those who believed that as compared to the good of the entire mankind the good of one's own country and people was of no importance? Swamiji was first among those Sanskrit scholars who taught the Hindus that service of the country and doing good to one's society were the most important teachings of the Vedic religion. According to him the people who could not do good to others and serve the country could not be called religious.

Among the rules framed in Bombay, Rule 17 reads: "For the good of the country the Arya Samaj will carry on the work of reform on two levels – spiritual and material. This work will also be carried on for the good of the world."

The Bombay rules also elucidate the means which Swamiji considered proper for achieving the aims of the Arya Samaj. Rule 12 calls for voluntary

donation of one per cent of one's income for setting up Arya Vidyalayas and bringing out journals for the propagation of the ideals of the Arya Samaj. Rule 19 mentions about sending out *Pracharaks* and Rules 19 and 20 deal with setting up of schools for men and women. Rule 3, adopted at Lahore, lays down that reading and teaching the Vedas and listening to and reciting their *mantras* are the sacred religious duties of all the members of the Arya Samaj. Similarly Rule 8 requires the members to work for the advancement of learning and removal of ignorance.

Swamiji's patriotism is also demonstrated by the conference which was organized at his instance on the occasion of the Delhi Durbar. (See Swamiji's biography written in Urdu (p. 264) by Pandit Lekh Ram.) At that conference Swamiji declared, "If we can come to a unanimous decision and agree on a common programme of work, reform can be speeded up."

The biography referred to above also mentions that once Swamiji delivered a speech on the importance of swadeshi. All these facts demonstrate Swamiji's patriotism. Indeed, he deserves to occupy the highest position even among the patriots. Such men are rarely born in the world who do not hesitate even to lay down their lives for the good of their country and community. No programme of work chalked out by such men can ignore the good of the country and society. Thus I can say with certainty that Swami Dayanand had devised a clear programme for the reform of the country and society both.

51. Other Teachings of Swami Dayanand

Readers must have got an idea about the greatness of Swami Dayanand and his achievements from the extracts given by me from his letters above. In his short life he taught so many valuable things to the world. It was unthinkable that a great reformer like him would take up only the issues considered important and not touch upon those considered less important. While he spoke against the prevailing religious beliefs and customs, he also dealt with various other matters relating to the individual and social behaviour.

Swami Dayanand did not only reject idol worship but also assailed the ritual of *shraddha*, opposed pilgrimages and criticized the doctrine of incarnation. He said that giving alms in the name of one's ancestors did not do good to them at all, and that bathing in some river did not wash away one's sins and held no guarantee of *moksha*. As for the incarnation, he said that God being beyond birth and death could not assume physical form as a human being.

Swamiji rejected the doctrine of neo-Vedanta and said that the *atma* and *Paramatma* were two separate entities and that Nature was limitless. He added

that God was omnipotent and the creator of the universe. As regards *moksha,* he said that the *jiva,* after attaining *moksha,* enjoyed unique bliss by remaining in the company of God for some time and after that again came into the world. He believed in the doctrine of *karma* and held that the *jiva* was born again and again in different forms depending on its past *karmas.* He firmly held that all children – boys and girls – belonging to all classes had the equal right to education.

Swamiji was opposed to child marriage and believed that it was one of the causes of the physical weakness of Indians. He advocated celibacy up to the age of 25 years for men and 16 years for women. He considered it quite appropriate to know the opinion of boys and girls regarding their marriages and held that at the time of marriage both the partners should be virgins. He did not approve of remarriage of *dwijas* but sanctioned *niyoga* for procreation.

Swami Dayanand believed in the caste system but held that its basis should be one's vocation and not birth. He considered it essential for every member of the Arya Samaj to wear the sacred thread and grow a topknot. He similarly considered the observance of the sixteen *sanskaras* obligatory. He disapproved dining with individuals not belonging to the Aryan community. He also disapproved of meat eating and drinking of alcohol. An event that occurred in his life has been described thus, "Then Mr. Jones remarked, 'Why do you observe so many restrictions and why are you afraid of eating with us?" Swamiji answered, "Eating or not eating with someone has nothing to do with *dharma* or *adharma.* These things are related with the customs of a country and community and not with the real religion. Sensible people do not unnecessarily do something contrary to the customs of a country. Could you marry your son with a native Christian?" It is also recorded that once in Dehra Dun he refused to eat with a member of the Brahmo Samaj because the food had been cooked by a *Bhangi* woman.

52. Did Swami Dayanand Possess Supernatural Powers?

I agree that Swamiji was a great yogi but differ with those who call him a *siddha.* Swamiji of course held the view that yoga was necessary for the realisation of God, but never did any such thing as would suggest that he claimed to possess the ability to read the minds of others or tell where to find a lost thing or man. He never made any predictions and those who say so about him I do not agree with them. His works do not contain even the slightest hint of this. On the contrary, his correspondence with Col. Olcott and Madame Blavatsky indicates that he was totally against this and all kinds of miracle-mongering which are usually indulged in by members of the Theosophical Society for demonstrating their so-called yogic powers.

53. Swami Dayanand and "Shuddhi"

Any account of Swamiji's life will be incomplete without mentioning the work done by him relating to *shuddhi.* Swami Dayanand was the first leader after Guru Govind Singh who inspired Hindus for the work of *shuddhi.* Earlier there was a controversy – whether the Hindus returning from abroad could be purified and taken back into the Hindu society. The Brahmin priests in general disapproved of Hindus undertaking any sea journey and held that according to the scriptures the Hindus returning from abroad could not be taken back into their original community. There were others who argued that the *Sutras* and *Smritis* permitted persons returning from abroad to be taken back into their community after they had performed the prescribed purificatory rites. Nobody at that time could think that those Hindus who had forsaken their religion and embraced Islam or Christianity could be taken back into the Hindu society. Swami Dayanand was the first to think of this. In Jullundar for the first time a young man converted to Christianity was reconverted to Hinduism by him. (See the biography of Dayanand written by Pandit Lekh Ram, p. 333.) In Amritsar he gave a lecture on *shuddhi.* In Dehra Dun he initiated a young Muslim into Hinduism. In Lahore and many other places, while giving answers to questions asked by Englishmen, Christians and Muslims, he told them that if they conducted themselves as Aryas they too could become Aryas. The *shuddhi* campaign going on at present in the Punjab is the result of Swamiji's teaching in regard to this. Earlier no Hindu or Sikh had the courage to take a man who had forsaken his religion back into his community. By preaching *shuddhi* Swami Dayanand strengthened the Hindu community and rescued the sinking boat of Hinduism. Thus he prevented hundreds of families from being ruined, hundreds of children from being orphaned and thousands of women from being widowed.

54. Swami Dayanand and Care of Orphans

Swami Dayanand was much concerned about the plight of orphaned children of the country. He set up an orphanage at Ferozepore and took interest in its activities. In his letter of acceptance of the presidentship of the orphanage, he wrote that taking care of orphans would be one of its main aims and that its funds would be utilized for giving support and education to orphans and destitute children of Aryavarta.

The idea of safeguarding the interests of the Hindu community was deeply ingrained in Swamiji's heart. His conduct and actions show how deeply he felt in his sensitive and loving heart about the indifferent attitude of Hindus towards the task of taking care of orphans. At pilgrimage centres the *Pandas,* who were

no better than beggars, realized so much money that the real idea behind charity was completely lost and the result was that hundreds of thousands of orphaned Hindu children started embracing other religions. Votaries of other religions had by setting up orphanages planned to draw orphan children to their religions. Swamiji realized the gravity of the situation. Therefore he laid special emphasis in the programme of the Arya Samaj on giving support and protection to orphans. I feel sad to hear people saying that Swamiji assigned third place in his will to the work of care of orphans and from it they conclude that he wanted this work to be taken up after the first two had been accomplished. I feel ashamed and amused to hear this. I feel like laughing at those who interpret his words in this manner and feel ashamed to find how wrongly the clear expressions of that great man are misconstrued by such people as had the opportunity to hear his teachings. In my view such a distorted view is not even worth mentioning.

55. Final Appeal

Dear reader, this introduction has become very long and I fear you may not like it if it is elaborated further. Therefore now I present a narration of the life of that great man about whose work I have dealt with in short in this introduction. Whatever further I have to say I will say it in the following pages. I am sure if you read this with an unbiased mind you will agree that Swamiji was a great man even if you differ with him with regard to his religious views. I hope you will also agree that the Arya community cannot be too proud of him.

I want to say one thing to our youth. O promising boys of our community, Swamiji was specially concerned about your welfare. Wherever he went, he was mobbed by students. He was totally devoted to them and they in turn were ready to do anything for him. He knew that the students were the future hope of our country and community and that on them alone depended the country's progress and prestige.

9
GREAT MEN OF THE WORLD
V. Shri Krishna

Shri Krishna[1]

Preface[2]

Thanks to God that at last I have been able to fulfil my promise and can now place this book before the people.

Dear readers, In 1896 in the introduction to the biography of Shivaji I had promised to write a biography of Shri Krishna. Soon after that the terrible famine of 1896-97 engulfed the country and the relief work became so pressing that I could get no time even to consult the reference material for writing this book. Then in September 1897 I suffered from illness which kept me bedridden right up to April 1898. Besides that, because of several other problems also I could get no opportunity to read any books for a long time. However, in September 1898 I completed writing *Maharshi Swami Dayanand and His Teachings* and offered it to you. Immediately after that I began writing this book and now I present to you the outcome of my two and a half years' labour. I do not know whether it befits you and the exalted position of that great man whose name is printed on the title page of the book. I shall consider my time and labour well rewarded if this book creates in you the desire to know more about Shri Krishna and induces you to carry out further research into the happenings of his life. And I shall consider myself fortunate if by reading this book some Aryans come to realize that all the vile and vulgar allegations made against Shri Krishna are wholly unfounded and false.

In the introduction to this book I have mentioned the titles of the books from which I have gathered information about the incidents narrated in this book. Besides these, I have made use of the books of two Bengali authors also. These books are – (1) *Krishna and Krishnaism* by Babu Balram Malik, and (2) *Life of Shri Krishna* by Babu Dhirendranath Pal. I have also gone through F.S. Brouse's *Mathura Memoir.* The first chapter of my book, which deals with the birthplace of Shri Krishna, is to a great extent based on the material borrowed from the last mentioned source. Though I have taken much help from Babu Dhirendranath's book, I have neither followed his style nor relied wholly on his description of the various events. Generally I have checked all the events with the *Vishnu Purana, Mahabharata* and *Bhagavat* before writing about them. Wherever I have referred to someone's view or belief I have mentioned his name in a footnote. In interpreting the *shlokas* of the *Bhagavad Gita* I

1. Here are printed extracts—the Preface, Introduction and Teachings of Shri Krishna—from Lajpat Rai, *Yogiraj Shri Krishna* (Lahore, 1900). (Original in Urdu)
2. This preface was written at Lahore on 6 November 1900.

have generally relied on Mrs. Annie Besant's commentary. Still I have checked the interpretation of each and every *shloka* with the original text and wherever needed I have made changes.

I think I should also say something about the style of my writing and language. I have often heard the complaint that the Urdu used by the followers of the Arya Samaj generally and especially by me is a hotchpotch of several languages. A Muslim friend of mine says that we have made Urdu a mixed language. The fact is that before the foundation of the Arya Samaj there were very few books on Hinduism written in Urdu, the reason being that the Sanskrit-knowing or Hindi-knowing Hindus never bothered to write Hindu religious books in Urdu, and if they ever did so they of course used the Persian script but that alone did not make the language Urdu. It was the Arya Samaj which realized the need for bringing out Hindu religious books in the Urdu language written in the Persian script for the benefit of the educated class of the Punjab and the United Provinces. The Urdu used by Muslim writers was loaded with Arabic and Persian words, as they were quite familiar with those languages and such terminology suited them for writing about the religious views of the Muslims. But after the British introduced Urdu written in the Persian script in courts and educational institutions, the need was felt by the Urdu-knowing Hindus for books containing teachings of the Hindu religion written in Urdu. Thus such books were written by those persons who had learnt Urdu and Persian in Government schools. As they studied religious books written in Hindi and Sanskrit, their language tended to have a preponderance of Hindi and Sanskrit words. In their writings also they used the same language and the result was that their Urdu assumed a special form which contained, besides Arabic and Persian words, Hindi and Sanskrit words too. Thus I cannot understand why anybody should object to this kind of Urdu. In fact Urdu is the name of the language spoken by Indians and sometimes the words Urdu and Hindustani are used in the same sense. During the Muslim rule the Muslim literature was dominant and so there was a preponderance of Arabic and Persian words in the language of educated Indians. While dealing with serious subjects whenever they felt the need for special words they took the help of the Muslim literature. With the advent of the British rule English words began to be used in the Hindustani language and the use of Hindi and Sanskrit words also began to increase. Hence there seems to be no reason why Hindus should express their religious ideas in the language of the Muslim literature and substitute Arabic and Persian words for Hindi and Sanskrit words. A language should be such as is spoken by the people. As with the changing times English, Hindi and Sanskrit words began to be used in the language spoken by Hindus, there was no reason why they should not have written also in the same language. However, British rulers prefer to use the Persian script to write Hindustani and in schools too

Hindustani is taught in the Persian script. Therefore for writers there is no option but to use the Persian script. We can find instances of Hindi words being used in the writings of Urdu scholars. The fact is that for dealing with Hindu religious themes the use of Hindi words is unavoidable. (See Maulana Altaf Husain 'Hali', *Manajate Bewa.*) Indeed, in the opinion of some scholars real Urdu should have the fewest possible Arabic and Persian words. If the Arabic and Persian words be removed from Urdu then what will remain will be pure Hindi. The only difficulty is that Muslims do not like those words which are not commonly used as they consider only those words as Urdu which are commonly used. Therefore the use of Hindi and Sanskrit words by Hindus in the books relating to the Hindu religion, society or institutions written for their co-religionists cannot be considered improper. Why should a Hindu, while writing for Hindus the dialogues of Krishna, Yudhishthira and Arjuna and expressing serious and complicated religious ideas in Urdu, look for difficult Arabic and Persian words? The use of Arabic and Persian words while translating women's dialogues is too bad. Because of these reasons I do not consider the charge levelled against my language as justified. If I try I can express my thoughts in the Muslim Urdu but I do not think it necessary to do so. If I do so many of the Hindus will not be able to benefit from my writings. Besides this, I also want to make it clear that writing books for monetary gains or merely for showing the beauty of language is neither my profession nor my object. In my leisure time I express my ideas with the view that those who cannot be approached through speeches should be apprised of my ideas through writings. If I use that time, which is always short, to demonstrate the beauty of the Urdu language and to show off my learning, then perhaps I will not be able to do anything worthwhile.

The fact is that presently all the vernaculars of India are undergoing changes as for expressing new ideas the help of different languages is necessary. It is not possible for the people to give up their facile way of expression and check the natural growth of the national language merely to maintain the purity of the Urdu and Persian languages.

When I began writing this book first I thought I should use idiomatic Urdu. But then I realized that I could not claim to have the knowledge of such Urdu and that I would have to try hard to avoid the use of Hindi words which would also take a lot of time. Therefore I gave up that idea and used those very words which came naturally to my mind.

Now, a word about the price of the book. Many of my friends have this grouse that I sell my books at very high prices. I would like to tell them that my books are not as highly priced as the books published in the English, Bengali or Urdu languages. I would also like to mention that even the best of my books sold at a loss. Even the money invested by me was not recovered. Though I am

told that thousands of people have read my books, the fact is that even a single edition of any of my books has not been fully sold out, which indicates how much interest the general public takes in them. In view of this it is not proper to expect that besides spending time and doing mental labour I should also spend money on the publication of my books. In this matter the Hindus of the Punjab should learn something from the people of Bengal and educated Muslims.

At the close of the nineteenth century I humbly offer this book in the service of my countrymen.

Introduction

1. Tendency of Hero-Worship

Which community in the world has not worshipped its heroes as gods and, even realizing it well that they were ordinary mortals, did not give them the high position of the creator of the universe? Man has the tendency to bow before the superior strength and ability. When he finds some man being more capable than himself and is unable to understand its reason he is drawn to him. He begins to believe that the man with the superior capability is the primeval man having unique qualities and powers the like of whom no one can ever create nor can he be ever destroyed by anyone. However, the educated and spiritually advanced communities, even though their adulation of their heroes borders on worship, do not forget the distinction between the heroes and their Maker, but the communities which are caught in the net of darkness because of the lack of education cannot make such a distinction. However loudly people may denounce hero-worship, the fact remains that no community is free from this failing. There is no system of education which does not promote hero-worship. The people who proudly say that they worship only one God also have their own heroes whom they worship. The great British writer Thomas Carlyle, in his well-known book *Heroes and Hero Worship,* says that the great men of the world are like the sparks of that great fire which provides light to the world, sustains the earth, vegetation, man and animal, showers mercy through its warmth and fills the man's heart with joy and happiness.

2. Vedic Heroes

What this nineteenth-century British author said was expressed by the Aryan seers of Aryavarta in their books written thousands of years ago. In the Vedic Sanskrit the word *agni* has been used for one Supreme God and in the ancient Sanskrit literature in general it has been used for scholars, seers, *mahatmas* and enlightened souls. The word *deva* or *devata* means God in Sanskrit, though it is also used for a great man. The English word 'God' stands for the Supreme Being, but into plural form it is used for gods in general. The followers of Islam call Prophet Mohammed Noor-e-Ilahi (Light of God), Jesus Christ is regarded by Christians as the Son of God and Buddhists use the word 'Lord' while referring to Buddha. Similarly, Aryans regard Shri Ram and Shri Krishna as incarnations of God. Adoration and worship of enlightened souls, learned men and seers has been the practice among the Hindus since the Vedic times. The Vedic *mantras* again and again enjoin us to revere and worship saintly persons and enlightened souls. This is prescribed as an essential part of the

daily religious rituals for Aryans and is a must on festival days. The *Brahmanas, Upanishads* and other sacred books of Aryans deal with this subject in great detail. But there is no Vedic religious book which identifies any saint or enlightened person with God.

3. Truth about Incarnations

In Aryavarta Buddhists were the first to express doubt about the existence of God and it was the Buddhist teaching which was responsible for the worship of God being replaced by the worship of man among the people of this sacred land. This pernicious doctrine became so fashionable throughout the length and breadth of the country that even the preachers of the Vedic faith considered it advantageous to embrace Buddhism. Brahmins substituted Shri Rama and Shri Krishna for Buddha and described them as incarnations of God. The idea of incarnation spread like the forest fire. The *Puranas* also dealt with this theme and their pages were filled with stories of incarnations. The idea of incarnation began to pervade all religious thinking. The immortal works of great poets praising the deeds of heroes and admiring the beauty of nature were adopted by the authors of *Puranas* with some changes to suit the doctrine of incarnation.

Scholars and experts in metaphysical speculation so manipulated that all the prevailing religious doctrines, whether good or bad, were attributed to God and the common people became so confused that they lost all sense of distinction between the cause and effect. The accounts of the lives of great men were so moulded that the people of other communities and countries began to treat them as false, artificial and profane.

4. Shri Krishna

The injustice that has been done to Shri Krishna by the excessive enthusiasm of the poets for him does not find a parallel in the literature of any other country. They created all kinds of misconceptions in the minds of the people about him. Tulsidas also waxed eloquent in the praise of Shri Rama but he did not raise him to the level to which the devotees of Shri Krishna did, the reason perhaps being that Shri Rama was not given like Shri Krishna the title of preceptor. Shri Rama was turned into a tragic hero by the malice of his stepmother Kaikeyi and the poets placed on his head the crown of filial and fraternal love. But such a crown best adorns the head of a person who leads a completely religious life. In other words, his total personality should be such that crown should befit him fully and should also have a good effect on the people. Although Shri Rama's life was exemplary, there was a great difference between him and Shri Krishna.

Shri Krishna is not only considered as the ideal of true love, romance and bravery but also as an ideal preceptor. He was born at a time when the boat of the Vedic religion was getting sucked into the whirlpool of barren metaphysical speculations and the doctrine of renunciation and religion seemed to have lost their moorings. At such a time Shri Krishna had to give a discourse on religion. He was therefore looked upon as a great preceptor and there is hardly anyone among our countrymen who has not been influenced in a greater or lesser degree by his discourse. Everyone swears by Shri Krishna, cites his utterances and quotes him as an authority. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the religious firmament of India is even today radiant with the teachings of Shri Krishna.

5. What did the People Think about Shri Krishna Twenty Years Ago?

Hardly twenty years have passed when we were studying in Government schools and when Shri Krishna was considered as the doer of all those unsacred things which are shown in *Krishnalila* or *Rasalila*. Shri Krishna then was perceived by us as being prone to self-indulgence, craving for sensual pleasures and crooked. We were led to believe that the debility of the contemporary Indian society was the result of such immoral teachings. Enemies of the Aryan religion had spread such misinformation about Shri Krishna that instead of harbouring feelings of love and devotion for him in our hearts, we felt a sense of shame on his account in the presence of others, and developed nothing but hatred for him. But when I left school and became free from the clutches of mullahs and came out from the dark cell into the open air and light of knowledge, my ideas underwent a change.

6. Change in Mental Attitude

Soon after coming out of the narrow confines of school life I found a great mental change in myself. I became more and more interested in pondering over metaphysical subjects. Then I heard my inner voice saying, "How is it that while some people associate Shri Krishna with frivolity and vulgarity, others hail him as the author of such a great work as the *Gita*? As regards the seriousness of the subject, quality of teachings, simplicity of language, and message of love and devotion, the *Gita* is par excellence and its language and style are unique." The moment I heard this I further thought: "One who expounded morality and taught the lesson of *Gita* how could he be indulgent, wanton and sensual as depicted in *Krishnalilas*? Was it not likely that those who attributed such undesirable acts to him might have been misled by the crude symbolism of poets? It could not be believed that Shri Krishna could be

such as he had been depicted. It was evident that the poets had taken liberty and depicted Shri Krishna in whatever manner they wanted and in course of time they fell completely under his spell."

Now of course no educated person believes that Shri Krishna was such as he is depicted in *Krishnalilas*. However much people may differ in their religious beliefs, no educated person now associates Shri Krishna with those shameless and obscene antics with which ignorant masses associate him. Old-fashioned adherents of the *Puranas* too now try to draw out from the crude accounts of Shri Krishna in the *Bhagavata* the essence of love and devotion.

Several persons are today delving into the *Pauranic* accounts of Shri Krishna in order to know about the real happenings of his life so that they may include them in his biography. We know that writing biographies has never been part of the Indian literary tradition and this is why there is no biography of Shri Krishna in existence. In order to write an authoritative biography of his, one has to cull the facts about his life from the imaginary and hyperbolic accounts of different poets and present them in a form that can stand the test of common sense and be credible.

7. Antiquity of the "Puranas"

The source of all the legends about Shri Krishna current among the common people is the *Puranas* which are fully relied upon by the Hindus. Therefore if we want to get at the truth the first thing to do is to examine to what extent the *Puranas* can be treated as historical works and how reliable are their contents.

(a) Ancient Aryans were not devoid of historical knowledge

I do not agree with the view that ancient Aryans who were considered to be foremost in scholarship, culture, philosophical knowledge and all kinds of artistic skills, as mentioned in all the extant Sanskrit literature, had no conception of history at all and that they had neither any interest in studying history nor was there any tradition of writing history among them.

My contention is that though the literature of those days tells us about the things that existed and enumerates the arts and sciences that the ancient Aryans had mastered, it cannot thereby be concluded that if no ancient books dealing with any particular subject are available, the Aryans were quite ignorant about that subject. The ancient Aryan civilization is so old that saying anything about it with certainty is extremely difficult if not impossible. During the long period of its existence, the Aryan civilization underwent so many changes that merely the non-availability of books relating to any particular branch of learning cannot be a valid ground for concluding that that branch of learning was unknown at

that time. Who knows how many literary gems are buried under the debris of ancient ruins! Some have disappeared into the bowels of earth, even the traces of which cannot be retrieved now, and some must be mouldering away in the papers in the possession of Brahmins who, it seems, have no notion of the value of the literary treasure that is thus rotting, and for procuring which scholars of the world are today willing to spend huge amounts of money. The research work on the ancient Aryan civilization has now been earnestly started and scholars are digging out all such gems. At this point of time, therefore, it cannot be definitely said that ancient Aryans were deficient in such-and-such a branch of learning. I maintain that it is not possible in the light of the existing literature to assume that ancient Aryans were ignorant of the art of historiography. There is rather some evidence to indicate that in ancient times reading and writing of history was considered quite respectable. There used to be learned men among the members of royal courts to record and narrate the happenings in their kingdoms.

There are numerous references to historical events in the ancient literature especially in the *Brahamanas, Upanishads, Ramayana, Mahabharata* and sacred books of the *Pauranic* age. In the Vedic literature too while enumerating the different subjects of study the words *itihasa* and *Purana* have been used which indicates that *itihasa* and *Purana* formed a separate literary discipline which is now called history. . . .

(b) Historical value of "Puranas"

I can say without hesitation that the *Puranas* cannot be treated as historical works. These *Puranas* contain several such things as make them unfit to be considered as history of those times. They in fact belong to later periods. Some of them belong to the period when the Aryans having lost their political freedom and forgotten their religion and duty were being disdainfully called Hindus, and in order to safeguard their identity, religion, self-respect and honour of their women, they were obliged to give up their old ways, with the result that their old religion and culture got so suppressed that they would have been irretrievably lost had the British not thrown light on them and had they (the Aryans) not got the opportunity to remove the rubbish accumulated on them. . . .

Lest you should ask what all this disputation concerning the *Puranas* has to do with the life story of Shri Krishna, I should hasten to explain that unfortunately almost all the information about Shri Krishna that is available has been drawn from the *Pauranic* literature, and that whatever the *Puranas* have done to degrade and enervate the Aryan community centres round that great soul whose life story I am going to present before you.

What outrages have not been perpetrated by the *Puranas* on Shri Krishna?

They have so pierced him with the arrows of their petty and vulgar imaginations that his personality has totally changed and as a result most of the Aryans considering him impure and sensual have developed an aversion to him. It is the result of *Pauranic* literature that so many educated Aryans have fallen into the net of Muslims and Christians. Often even educated and well-meaning people are heard saying that Shri Krishna is at the root of all the misfortunes of this sacred land, and that it was he who by his perverse teachings caused the war of Mahabharata which proved utterly tragic for the country. I feel greatly hurt when I find descendants of Aryans making such derogatory remarks about Shri Krishna. But why to blame anyone for this? The wild and fanciful stories of the *Puranas* have so befogged the minds of the people that it seems to be impossible for them to differentiate between the truth and untruth. I do not mean to say that there is no truth at all in the *Puranas*. There may be some material in them which can help us trace the history of the Aryans, but that is full of so many similes, concocted stories and illogical ideas propounded by different generations of *Purohits* that it is very difficult if not impossible to know about the real happenings of those days.

Although references to various events connected with Shri Krishna's life are found in almost all the *Puranas*, a systematic and detailed description of his life is contained in the *Brahma Vaivarta Purana*, *Bhagavata Purana*, *Vishnu Purana* and *Brahma Purana*. The *Mahabharata* and *Harivansha Purana* also contain a good amount of material relating to the life of Shri Krishna. According to scholars, generally speaking the *Mahabharata* and *Vishnu Purana* contain the earliest records about Shri Krishna. But it is difficult to decide which parts of these books are old and which parts were added later. . . .

Professor Wilson, who has translated the *Vishnu Purana* into English, believed that it contains some material relating to a period as late as the 10th century A.D. Nevertheless, the *Vishnu Purana* is older than the *Bhagavata* and some other *Puranas*. But as regards the *Bhagavata,* there is a controversy as to which of the two *Bhagavatas – Shrimad Bhagavata* and *Devi Bhagavata* – deserves to be included among the eighteen *Puranas*. A dialogue on this issue is still continuing between the Vaishnavas and the Shaktas. European scholars however believe that *Shrimad Bhagavata* was written in the 13th century. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that the *Vishnu Purana* is older than the *Bhagavata,* and as it contains less adulation it is more reliable. . . .

8. How to Know What is Fact and What is Fiction?

We all assume that Buddhism came into existence after Shri Krishna. Hindus believe that Shri Krishna was born during the age of *Dwapara* and that the battle of Mahabharata was the beginning of *Kaliyuga*. European scholars

believe that Shri Krishna lived around 1000 B.C., and as regards Buddha it has been found by research that he was there around 500 B.C. Hence the conclusion is that wherever traces of Buddhist teachings are found in the *Vishnu Purana* and *Mahabharata* those portions belong to the post-Buddhist period and hence cannot be considered authentic. Similarly, according to the Sanskrit literature before the spread of Buddhism idol worship did not exist in India, nor was there any tradition of constructing temples for idols.

It is therefore right to say that those portions of the *Vishnu Purana* and *Mahabharata* which contain references to idol worship were added later. I am quite certain that the pre-Buddhist Sanskrit literature contains no reference to incarnations nor any evidence of the worship of *Trimurti* – Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh. Caste distinctions too at that time were not so rigid as they came to be afterwards. Keeping in mind these limitations we can know a great deal about Shri Krishna from the above two books. As regards the caste distinctions, I may mention that Maharashi Vyas, the author of *Mahabharata,* was a Shudra, which shows that one's caste was not considered as something very important. However, it is clear that Shri Krishna was born at a time when the Vedic religion existed in its pristine purity. The caste was determined by vocation and not by birth. A human being was not worshipped as God. The doctrine of incarnation had no place. Idol worship had not come into vogue and the *Trimurti* – Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh – had not taken shape to be worshipped. The Vedic rituals or the *karmakandas* were universally practised. Buddhism had not come into existence but a multiplicity of philosophical schools had weakened the foundations of faith and the people had begun to ignore religion. If we keep this background and the liberty taken by the poets in mind we can draw a good deal of relevant material concerning Shri Krishna's life from the *Mahabharata* and *Vishnu Purana.* However, it should be remembered that the facts about Shri Krishna's life can be known only by working hard for it, otherwise it is impossible to know them.

9. The Period of Shri Krishna and "Mahabharata"

It is a bit difficult to determine the period of *Mahabharata* as no systematic history of that period is available. However, whatever has come to light by the researches done so far I am mentioning it here for the information of readers.

There is a belief among the Hindus that the war of Mahabharata marks the beginning of *Kaliyuga* and that Krishna was born in the *Dwapara* age. It is also believed that the *Kaliyuga* commenced some 5000 years ago and according to the computation of astrologers the *Kaliyuga* started 4996 years ago.

Kalhana, the author of the history of Kashmir, *Rajatarangini,* states that in the 653rd year of *Kaliyuga,* a king named Gauda was ruling in Kashmir,

while Yudhishthira and the Kauravas were living in a forest. Gauda ruled for about 65 years, so Yudhishthira must have been there around 2400 B.C., that is to say, about 4300 years ago.

It is learnt from the *Vishnu Purana* that King Parikshita, the grandson of Yudhishthira, ruled 1015 years before King Nanda. And the first ruler of the Nanda dynasty ruled 100 years before Chandragupta who had ascended the throne of Magadh in 315 B.C., according to which King Parikshita's period is fixed as 1430 B.C. At another place the *Vishnu Purana* fixed the period of Parikshita as 1200 *Kaliyugi* year, that is 1900 B.C.

It is learnt from the *Mahabharata* that in those days the winter solstice occurred in the month of *Magha* because Bhishma died when the sun moved southward. But nowadays winter solstice occurs on 24 December. According to astrologers this shifting of the winter solstice day took place at least 3426 years ago, which means that the Mahabharata war took place at least 3426 years ago if not more.

Commenting on this view of astrologers, Bal Gangadhar Tilak,[3] in his book *Orion,* says that the period when the winter solstice fell in the month of *Magha* must have been quite ancient period. Besides this, the old Sanskrit literature contains references to almost all the heroes of the *Mahabharata* on the basis of which European scholars believe that the war of Mahabharata took place much before the creation of all this literature.

The *Ashtadhyayi* of Panini mentions the names Yudhishthira, Kunti, Arjuna and Vasudeva. Professor Goldstucker holds that Panini lived much before the *Brahmanas* and *Upanishads* were written. Swami Dayanand agrees with him on this. . . .

However, it is generally accepted that the war of Mahabharata occurred a long time back, and that the original *Mahabharata* was written sometime after that. But changes in it continued to be made for a long period. Today it is very difficult to determine when the war of Mahabharata took place, when the book *Mahabharata* was written and which Vyasa wrote it.

If the Mahabharata war and the composition of the book *Mahabharata* took place before the *Upanishads* and the *Sutras* then there is no doubt that whatever is there in the present-day version of the *Mahabharata* which is not in conformity with the religion of that period was added to it later on and that it was not written by the original author.

3. (1856-1920); educated at Poona and taught at Fergusson College; outstanding politician and leader of the Congress belonging to the extremist school; founder-editor of *Kesari* (Marathi) and *Mahratta* (English); sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment in July 1897 and deported to Burma for six years in July 1908 for sedition; founded Home Rule League in 1916; works include *Bhagwadgita Rahasya* (*Karma Yoga Shastra*), *The Arctic Home in the Vedas, Orion* and several other scholarly books on Indian history and philosophy.

10. Is This Story Imaginary?

Some scholars are of the opinion that the whole story of the *Mahabharata* is imaginary and that all the events mentioned in it are unreal. Some other scholars consider the Mahabharata war as a fact but its heroes as imaginary. In my opinion both these views are wrong, the reasons for which are as follows:

1. The genealogies of both Krishna and Arjuna are fully known. Several persons belonging to their families ruled over the kingdoms mentioned in history.

2. The entire corpus of Sanskrit literature refutes both of the above-mentioned views.

3. The story of the *Mahabharata* and the names of its characters are well known to the masses for centuries and even in those areas where there has been no literacy at all. Several places also bear the same names as those of the characters of the story. This had not been possible if the names were imaginary.

4. Various writings relating to the *Mahabharata* found in the Sanskrit literature also confirm many of the events mentioned in it.

5. If the story of the *Mahabharata* is considered to be true, then there seems to be no reason to suppose that the names of its characters are imaginary. However, if these names are imaginary then the question arises – what were the names of the real characters of the story?

6. The fact that Krishna is considered an incarnation of God also confirms that Krishna was not the name of any imaginary person.

7. Those opposed to our viewpoints do not furnish any proof in support of their contention. Some writers argue that since the system of polyandry was not there in the Aryan society at that time, the story of Draupadi marrying the five Pandavas is a concoction and has no truth in it. But those who have read the *Mahabharata* know that this incident has been mentioned as an exception with some purpose.

Thus in the face of such strong evidence the opinion held by some persons that the story of the *Mahabharata* is imaginary cannot be accepted, nor can it be believed that Krishna and Arjuna were imaginary characters.

11. Was Krishna an Incarnation of God?

By reading the events connected with the life of Shri Krishna mentioned by me in this book the readers can realize how far it is correct to treat Krishna Maharaja as an incarnation of God. In my view he himself never made any such claim, nor anyone during his times gave him such a title. These are creative projections of imagination which came in vogue after the Buddhist period.

The entire Vedic literature is opposed to the doctrine of incarnation. The Vedas loudly say that God never assumes a physical form. The European

scholars such as Max Weber and Monier-Williams and Romesh Chandra Dutt also agree with the view that the doctrine of incarnation came into vogue after the Buddhist period, and that before that nobody in India believed in idol worship or in the doctrine of incarnation. In the last part of this book I will deal with as to what extent the events of the life of Krishna Maharaja confirm my this view and then readers too will be able to form a correct opinion on the issue.

Dear readers, I present to you in the following pages the life story of a hero. Even though Shri Krishna was not an incarnation of God but only a human being, he was a model human being. He was a great teacher, a great warrior and a man of great learning. His life is an ideal for us. We can derive much advantage from his teachings. In my view students should make a careful study of the life of Shri Krishna as atheism of Europe is upsetting the minds of the younger generation and weaning them away from the fundamental truths of Hinduism and leading them towards the Western way of life. According to them the aim of life is nothing but to eat delicious foods, wear fashionable clothes, travel in luxury vehicles and live in comfort. They do not care to think about the soul and hate the religion which they think to be the root cause of all the sorrows of the world. They think that the good of India lies in doing away with the religion altogether and setting up a democratic state and forming a commonwealth in which nobody shall ask anyone what is his religion. If they have their way all the religious literature will be dumped into the sea and all religious organisations banished from the country. They think that this alone can bring about the salvation of India, that India's political interest lies in this, that no one should have the right to question anyone's conduct, and that everyone should be free to eat, drink and behave as he pleases. They only want that they should be given a share in the administration of the country, that they should hold important posts in the government, that they should be consulted when taxes are to be imposed or lifted, and that they should bear no social and religious responsibilities. A section of the Hindu youth today holds this very view. On the other hand, those people who think about spiritual development and do not hate religious philosophy or education consider *vairagya Vedanta,* yoga and *sannyasa* as their only objectives. For them the world is unreal like a dream and all worldly pleasures are contemptible. They do not care for material progress and seem to be interested only in becoming a perfect *Brahma* or yogi. They think that the persons who neglect the pursuit of self-realization and run after worldly pleasures are foolish. The country's young men are today broadly divided into these two categories. But there is a third category too which is looked down upon by the above two categories. This category is of such individuals as believe that Hindus should firmly adhere to their ancient religion and try to make progress according to its teachings. They try to save Hindus from the neo-*Vedanta* and the dogma of renunciation and also warn them against

European materialism. But the trouble with man is that he is always attracted towards extremes which in Sanskrit is called *atidosh.* At present this weakness is quite prominent in the Hindu community because of which our educated young men cannot adopt a middle course. To such people the life and teachings of Shri Krishna will be very useful and beneficial. But unfortunately the people reading the *Mahabharata* and the *Gita* misconstrue the ideas of Shri Krishna and while trying to follow the principles of renunciation, yoga and neo-*Vedanta* discard worldly things, desert their children and put on the ochre-coloured dress. Alas, they do not realize how can Shri Krishna's teachings be interpreted to mean that our interest lies in deserting our parents and children, retiring to the forest without discharging our worldly duties, and starting practising yoga when we know that he inspired Arjuna to stand up and fight? When the war was over he persuaded Yudhishthira, against the latter's wishes, to rule over the kingdom. He himself married, begot children and spent a great part of his life participating in worldly activities. He also took revenge against his enemies, destroyed the wicked, helped the poor and while living in the world discharged all his duties and yet he attained the highest spiritual goal. Thus the only conclusion of Shri Krishna's teachings is that man should discharge his duty, whether worldly or religious, honestly, sincerely and steadfastly. Only then can he gain true knowledge and attain *moksha.* In the battlefield Krishna told Arjuna that his supreme duty as a warrior was to wield arms and kill others, if need be even his own kith and kin. On occasions Krishna himself used weapons, fought numerous enemies and shed blood. How could such a person teach the Hindus of the twentieth century, who are by action neither Brahmins nor Kshatriyas, to abandon their families and children, discard their social duties, and without leading the life of a *brahmachari* or a householder and without studying the Vedas start practising yoga and retire to the forest with the object of becoming *Brahma* themselves? According to Krishna's teaching, it is the duty of a Kshatriya, until he earns the right to be called a Brahmin, to fight against his enemies, and if in order to uphold religion, righteousness and truth, he has to take up arms and risk his life he should not hesitate to do so.

In discharging our duties we should not let false pity or otherworldliness come in our way at all. If an aggrieved person adopts an attitude of indifference, and false pity, then one day justice will disappear altogether from the world and such an attitude will also amount to cowardice. It is rightly said that when one is unable to take recourse to any other means he adopts this kind of attitude. Often people praise Christianity on account of its teaching that if someone slaps you on your one cheek turn to him the other also. But you please ask them whether anybody has ever acted upon it or how far even the Christians themselves follow it. Nature teaches us something contrary to this. These things are only said. No capable man can be so coward. Those who make an undue

criticism of Krishna's teachings and hold him responsible for the war of Mahabharata and the harm caused by it should at least think what is the meaning of his philosophy. If some thief or robber enters your house what will you do? Will you take pity on him and let him take away your valuables or will you try to safeguard them by causing him harm? Did *dharma* enjoin that Arjuna should have fled away from the battlefield and betrayed the confidence reposed in him by Yudhishthira and other kings who had joined him with their armies? And was it the duty of Krishna also to flee along with Arjuna? I cannot understand how the people who make such absurd criticisms of Shri Krishna can be called protectors or propagators of religion. They only talk about *dharma* but do not care whether their *dharma* is beneficial to society or not. Their only concern is that their discourses should interest their audiences. I do believe that this very false sense of pity and other-worldliness has ruined the Hindus, effaced their name and fame and rendered them completely misfit for this world. If even now the Hindus do not want to come out of the clutches of such beliefs in accordance with the modern Western education and the *Gita,* then any thought about their progress is meaningless and it can never be realized. Those believing in such things can make neither material progress nor spiritual, for in the spiritual world also that person alone can make his mark who puts his step on the spiritual ladder after achieving success in all the tests. Those people cannot enter the spiritual world who do not care about the tests and rules of the world. Spiritual success is attained only by those who, by performing their multifarious duties and by right conduct, uplift their souls and with pure motives offer themselves at the lotus feet of *Parabramha* or the Supreme Being.

In these pages I have penned the life story of a great soul who pursued *dharma* during his lifetime and following the rules of *dharma* destoryed the enemies of *dharma* and justice. As to whether Krishna expounded the philosophy of *dvaita* or *advaita*, that is, whether according to him *atma* and *paramatma* are identical or different, I will deal with it in the second part of this book.

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Teachings of Shri Krishna

The term Krishnaism has been coined by those English-educated Hindus who, notwithstanding their English education, profess that part of the *Pauranic* Hinduism which is popularly known as *Vaishnavism.* Perhaps in the entire corpus of Sanskrit literature one would not find even a single word indicating Shri Krishna's association with any creed or religion as in the cases of Jesus

Christ, Prophet Mohammad and Buddha. The English-educated devotees of Shri Krishna have tried to rectify this omission in the Sanskrit literature by inventing a new creed after the name of Shri Krishna which they call Krishnaism. Even by a little study of the Sanskrit literature one comes to know that Krishna neither ventured to found any new religion nor preached any such religion as could be known in the world after his name. Jesus Christ, Prophet Mohammad and Buddha each founded a new religion which came to be named after them. Although at present there are numerous sects among the Hindus which are named after some great men, there is no evidence in the ancient Sanskrit literature to prove that such sects existed in ancient times. In the literature of Krishna's time there is not even a trace of such evidence. A special characteristic of the ancient Hindu religion is that its foundation has not been laid on the teachings of any human being.

Truly speaking, the early Hindu literature is the soul of the religious philosophy of the world. It is replete with precious religious thoughts the like of which are not found in any other literature of the world. Moreover, the exponents of these thoughts have left no trace of their names by which one could know which thoughts were expounded by whom. No one of our great men tried to initiate any new teachings, rather all of them described themselves as the followers of the supreme knowledge contained in the Vedas. No one tried even in the least to say that such-and-such an idea was his and that he had come in the world to propagate it. No one ever claimed to conceive any original idea, nor anyone ever thought of propagating any new religion. The entire series of the *Brahmanas* and *Upanishads* are a testimony to this. From the teachings of *Upanishads* it is not clear at all as to who were the originators of those teachings. At some places in the books of history and other subjects the names of *rishis,* seers and learned men are mentioned but by the manner in which they have been mentioned it is clear that several *rishis* bore identical names. As a result, it is impossible for us today to determine which Manu was the author of *Manusmriti.* The ancient Aryans considered God as the first guru and true preceptor, so they never tried to found any religion in their own names. From their writings it seems that they considered it *adharma* and sinful to do so. Taking part in religious discussions was considered proper by them but propagating any new religion or preaching any new ideas in their own names was considered quite improper.

Whenever the ancient Hindu *rishis* and seers preached anything they said they were doing so as desired by their forebears or as enjoined by the Vedas and *shastras*. They never dared to expound anything new themselves. Only in recent times this trend has started. Now in someone's name a new religion or sect is started which in fact lessens that person's importance. This is true especially in the case of Shri Krishna who never tried to propagate any new

religion. I have already observed in the preceding chapter that there is no evidence of Shri Krishna having ever tried to impart any religious teaching to the common man. Therefore it is futile to consider him as the founder of any religion. I want to state that it is not correct to attribute every *shloka* of the *Bhagavad Gita* to Shri Krishna. However, even if it is so accepted, the conclusion is only this that whatever he preached to inspire Arjuna to take part in the war is contained in the *Gita*. If only because of this Krishna Maharaja can be considered the founder of a certain religion, then why should Bhishma Maharaja also be not given the same credit as his teachings are in no way less profound and true than those of Krishna Maharaja? Can anyone tell me which is such a teaching of the *Bhagavad Gita* as is not there in the *Upanishads* or *Brahmanas* or even in the Vedas written earlier than the *Bhagavad Gita*? Then what is it that we should propagate as Krishnaism excepting that which is contained in the *Shrimad Bhagavat* or *Brahma Vaivarta* and which casts a slur on the pious life of Krishna Maharaja? If the teachings of the *Shrimad Bhagavat* are called as Krishnaism it will do no credit to Krishna Maharaja. In my view to attribute the teachings of the *Shrimad Bhagavat* to Krishna Maharaja is not at all proper because from the ancient books it is not at all proved that Krishna Maharaja ever preached such things as are contained in the *Shrimad Bhagavat*.

In my view Krishna Maharaja did not found any religious creed which should be propagated in his name. Therefore the use of the term Krishnaism is incorrect and improper. If Krishnaism means only that message which Krishna Maharaja gave to Arjuna and his other relatives at the right time and which emphasizes selfless action, then there is no harm. There is no doubt that the message of selfless action has not been conveyed so effectively and lucidly by words of any *rishis* and seers as by the words of Krishna Maharaja. Although the different chapters of the *Gita* deal with different themes, the message of selfless action is there in the whole book. In the *Mahabharata* too Krishna's utterances on various occasions emphasize only selfless action. As he dwells on the different aspects of *dharma* and enumerates the different ways and techniques of pursuing it, he invariably ends his discourses with an emphasis on non-attachment. Every word of the *Bhagavad Gita* carries the message of non-attachment. Not only Krishna Maharaja's words but also his actions are an exposition of non-attachment. They refute the notions of false sacrifice and renunciation and uphold the philosophy of action without any desire for fruit. This was the objective for which Shri Krishna worked throughout his life. Whenever he was called upon to give guidance in regard to anything he emphasized the principle of selfless action. He considered selfless action as the *summum bonum* of human life. Every person who came in his contact on any occasion was inspired by him to act without desiring for the fruit. Whether

he was in the company of friends or relatives, or was answering questions asked by his devotees or was sitting in a state assembly or was participating in *yajnas* and other religious ceremonies or was fighting with enemies, he always kept this principle in mind. Even when he was wounded by the arrow of a hunter and was in the throes of death, it was this lesson that he gave to the hunter.

Dear readers, in short I want to say that the entire teaching of Krishna Maharaja is contained in chapter II of the *Bhagawad Gita* and in some *shlokas* of the *Mahabharata*. . . .

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In chapters XVII and XVIII the philosophy of action has been dealt with in detail which is the sum and substance of the teachings of the *Gita*. When I think that the purpose of all these teachings was to induce Arjuna to take up arms, I feel convinced that this was the message which was given by Krishna Maharaja to Arjuna on the field of Kurukshetra. He might have dealt with some other aspects of *dharma* also in order to explain his message. But it is inconceivable that the entire philosophy of the *Gita* was propounded at that very time.

In the *Mahabharata* too Krishna Maharaja in his conversations emphasized the same teachings. After the end of the war when Yudhishthira expressed his desire to give up the kingdom and retire to the forest, Krishna Maharaja again, through his teachings, brought him round to the course of action and even encouraged him to perform *ashwamedha yajna*. Counselling Yudhishthira, he said, "O Yudhishthira, you have defeated your external enemies and now it is the time for you to get ready for that battle which every human being has to fight alone. In this battle you yourself have to realize the unlimited power of the mind and use the weapons of action and meditation, as no weapons made of steel can be used in this kind of battle. If you do not become successful in this, then it will be ominous for you." He further said, "Renouncing the kingdom and other worldly things will not bring forth your liberation, rather you have to renounce all such things as tie a person with his body. Let our enemies enjoy that happiness that is derived by giving up materialistic things while remaining entangled with inner desires and weaknesses. A man meets with his real death when he becomes a slave to worldly pleasures and starts differentiating between himself and others. Such a man who while ruling over a vast kingdom does not harbour any worldly desires in his mind nor craves for worldly pleasures is not at all bothered about the opinion of others about him. On the other hand, a man who renounces the world and in the guise of a sage lives in a forest subsisting

on fruits but craves for materialistic things wanders about with death hovering over his head all the time. Therefore it is not proper for you to think of renunciation without first discharging your duties. Renunciation in the real sense means that a person should have complete control over his mind and should subdue his desires. Such a person, though living in the world and ruling over a kingdom, is a true sannyasi and the monarch of his heart."

How beautiful are these words! Are they pearls which shine so brightly that even the most sharp and powerful eyes cannot look at them? No, they are not pearls. Pearls are after all made of clay. They cannot appease one's hunger or quench one's thirst. They cannot relieve one's sorrow and distress. Even by possessing the most precious pearls one cannot get rid of his troubles, pains and sorrows. Was there any dearth of pearls with Mahmud Ghaznavi? Has the Czar of Russia not got plenty of them? But can anyone say that despite having so much pearls Mahmud was happy or even the Czar is happy? In fact, the entire wealth of the world, including all the gold, silver, diamonds, pearls and jewels, is much less precious than the words and thoughts of Krishna Maharaja. They have that nectar in the search of which Alexander, who possessed a large amount of pearls, met with his death. This is that elixir for procuring which even the greatest of the kings and emperors lost their lives. This is that nectar by drinking which a man is liberated from the cycle of birth and death and by acquiring which pearls become like mud for him. This is that prescription by which all the sorrows, diseases of the sick, restlessness of the restless and troubles of the troubled soul disappear in the same manner as a wild deer runs away on getting the scent of man. This is that knowledge which transforms this sea of world which is full of sorrows into a pool of peace and a place of happiness and frees the man from all his bonds and leads him to the lotus-feet of God by touching which his soul is blessed with eternal peace and happiness. Dear reader, this is that teaching which tells us that duty must be performed for its own sake. This is that mirror which reflects the true form of religion. This is a divine ordinance which, being universally applicable, gives full freedom to all human beings to think about themselves.

O descendants of Aryans, can you really understand and follow these teachings? Have the iron chains of slavery, anxiety of livelihood, false sense of prestige, barren philosophy of meaningless renunciation and sacrifice, worship of the Mammon, education received in return for a few rupees and a plethora of false beliefs rendered your minds and hearts fit enough to understand this supreme truth which is the essence of all the philosophies of the world? Krishna Maharaja should be born again with the sweet melodious notes of his flute and should make the descendants of Aryans realize to what extent they have strayed from the path of *dharma*. The mother India should produce at least ten such sons as, keeping before them this paradigm of *dharma*, may try to ascend the

ladder of *dharma* without bothering about the riches or poverty, friend or foe and life or death. Their conviction should be so strong, their faith so unshakeable, their will so resolute and their intellect so incisive and brilliant that they should care neither for pleasure nor for sorrow, neither for comfort nor for discomfort, and neither for success nor for failure.

Is there not a dearth of such individuals in the country today and is it not a cause of the many ills afflicting us? Though these days there is so much talk about patriotism, love of the community and propagation of religion, I do not find even one individual who is totally dedicated to the service of the country and propagation of religion. Otherwise, how is it that despite there being so much hue and cry religion has not made any progress at all, nor the sorrows of the country have abated.

Yes, there is a great deal of talk about religion. There are also debates and discourses about it in plenty and donations are liberally given to promote the cause of religion. But the sad part of the whole thing is that our life is not guided by *dharma*. *Dharma* does not visit such people as do not invite it. *Dharma* is so jealous that it does not want its devotees to look at anybody else than itself. It does not stop them from eating or drinking or enjoying luxuries or earning money or producing children or having wives. What it wants is that whatever is done should be done for its sake, in its name, and that it should be dedicated to it. It does not say to its devotees that they should not love anybody nor serve their country or the community. Rather it says one may love people as much as one wants but it should be done so in its name, for its sake and should be dedicated to it.

Dharma does not make anyone its partner in its kingdom, nor does it give anyone a place equal to itself. It means that it wants to be all-powerful. It does not like anyone's company, nor does it want its devotees to feel hesitant in obeying its dictates. Hence only that person can follow *dharma* who is ready to follow it without caring about his physical comforts or riches. When such a person eats or drinks or gives charity or performs a *yajna* he does so because Shri Krishna wants him to do so. Unfortunately, now there is no *dharma* in this country. This is the reason why the people of this country are suffering so much. Everyone develops his own idea about *dharma* and hopes to achieve salvation by worshipping a god of his own imaginaton. Not only this. He even invites others to follow him and declares that whoever disagrees with him is a *kafir*. But if one goes through the writings of the religious people of ancient times, then one can realize that *dharma* is derived from the Vedas. At present it is very difficult to understand the Vedas because people do not know the meaning of the words used in them, and it is not possible for a dim-witted and parochial person to study them, let alone drink their nectar.

Question: Is then our illness incurable and is there no remedy to it?

Answer: There is no other remedy except to concentrate on the fundamentals of religion.

Question: What are they?

Answer: See *shlokas* 1, 2 and 3 in chapter XVI of the *Bhagavad Gita* according to which the fundamentals of religion are as follows:

> (1) Fearlessness (to fear no one except God), (2) purity of heart, (3) steadfastness of mind, (4) charity, (5) control over one's senses, (6) *yajnas* (religious performances), (7) self-study (study of the scriptures), (8) penance, (9) *ahimsa* (not to injure anyone), (10) truth, (11) subduing of anger, (12) sacrifice, (13) peace, (14) bravery, (15) firmness and (16) forgiveness.

If we want to get into the Divine Court, we should seek help of the spiritually advanced individuals and should by our actions make them favourably disposed towards us.

Pursuing religion for its own sake is the natural goal of every individual. There are many stages on the path to that goal. Every individual should select any one of them and make it his destination. One who has understood this has found the right path. Having selected the destination one should fully concentrate on reaching it, not allowing any obstacles to come in the way.

A European statesman writes that once he was so much overtaken by failure, despair and dejection that he began to suspect the correctness of the course he had adopted, and the result was that he in good faith and with the desire to do good to others changed his course which ultimately resulted in the death of hundreds of persons. He then became a prey to the feeling of guilt, which resulted in his losing his mental balance. For him life became a hell and many times he wanted to commit suicide.Several nights were spent by him in restlessness. Then one morning along with the rays of the sun the light of knowledge was also seen by him. He started thinking and said to himself that the course of action he had decided for himself had not been decided for any selfish reason and so there was no cause for self-condemnation. Further, he thought it was an error of judgement and so he need not despair or feel dejected. He then began to ponder over the object of human life which, he thought, was basic to all knowledge.

The same European statesman has written, "In ancient times Indians thought that meditation was the main object of life. The result was that they indulged in meditation so much and for so long that they could not do anything else, and thus the descendants of Aryans became wholly absorbed in the thought about God. On the other hand, Christianity regarded human life as a burden

and preached that sorrows and pains of life should be serenely endured and that no effort should be made to escape them or mitigate them. Christianity therefore calls the world an abode of sorrows. According to it, one can achieve salvation by considering all worldly things as insignificant and not craving for them at all.

"The materialistic philosophy of the eighteenth century regarded life as meant for joys and pleasures. As a result, man's tendency to look at everything with selfish motives became so strong that he ignored all ethical rules. Today every man thinks only of his own gains and interests. The spirit of making sacrifice for the sake of some principle or cause has been so much weakened that people in the face of the slightest trouble or failure trample their principles under their feet, change their views and give up the work started by them to fulfil certain objectives.

"I realized that though I hated this kind of philosophy and did not believe in it at all my soul was becoming a prey to it, and that I had decided the goal of my life keeping in mind my own comforts and discomforts, possibilities of success and failure, likes and dislikes of other people and union with or separation from my near and dear ones. I felt sorry that by my own action I had given up my this belief that a man's body was ephemeral and that he, in his different lives, went on making progress as if he was climbing up a mountain with the conviction that God was sitting there whom he would be able to see on reaching there. Different lives of a man were in fact beads of the same string by the help of which he went on uplifting himself.

"Every life has some objective, otherwise it would have no meaning. Those who have no objective in life have strayed from the right path. A life without an objective or purpose is no life. A man decides the objective of his life according to his circumstances but in reality it is the same as that of every human being. The objective of some people may be to reform the conduct and behaviour of the people around them which means they should work for educational reforms.

"The better-off people may try to spread national awareness or may decide to work for the religious and political development of their country. However, it is an indisputable fact that life is a mission and that one's duty or *dharma* is the best objective of one's life. A man's progress depends on his deciding his mission and acting accordingly, and on it depends what kind of life he will be granted in his after-life. Every man has got the right to shape his destiny by his own deeds. It is the duty of each one of us to act whole-heartedly for uplifting the soul, determine the goal of life and decide in what manner one can serve the country most. After deciding one's goal one should work with full zeal for its realization without caring whether he gets success or not and whether others help him or not."

Had this European gentleman possessed the *Gita* he would not have formed such a wrong idea about the religion of Aryans, nor had he faced so much difficulty in deciding about his own conduct and philosophy of life. Thousands of years before his birth a great Aryan had given the teaching mentioned above which provided him the light which was unexpected and unique. But in the ancient Aryan literature this teaching was not merely a link in the chain but the bedrock of the Vedic religion. This European gentleman also quotes a poem written by some European, the purport of which is as follows.

"Steel shines before our eyes in a fearful manner and the danger awaits us at every step. Still the Lord says: 'Go ahead, go ahead, and do not tarry.' I ask Him whither we are going and He replies, O man after all, everyone has to die. Then why do you fear from death? Be ready to die. All troubles have to be faced. So come forward and face all the troubles."

Dear reader, you have read or heard the *Gita* and you have also heard or read the *Mahabharata*, so you know that Krishna Maharaja says to Arjuna: "O Arjuna, remember that a man's physical body is destined to die. Then why should one be afraid of dying or killing? Stand up and fight. Do not be afraid of dying or killing. Whatever your duty you must do it."

The truth is that a truly religious man is he who in the discharge of his duty is neither afraid of dying nor of killing, and for whom all worldly considerations are insignificant before his duty.

O my co-religionists, put your hands on your hearts and think how many people in our community are such as can be called religious in accordance with these principles, and also how many are such as are eager to become truly religious by following them.

Is not our religion today a religion of convenience? How many of us are prepared to bear troubles and hardships for the sake of religion? Do thousands or even lakhs of Hindus not sell their religion for such trifling things as money, women, jobs, etc.? Can any one of us honestly say that he is ready to face all kinds of troubles for the sake of his religion? Alas, in this country today neither there is religion nor are there religious people. There are only empty talks. Our religion, our patriotism, our love for the community and our altruism are like empty envelopes containing neither notes on our objectives nor letters dealing with our true desires. Maybe, someday some great man, by his life and actions, will bring home to us the real aim of religion and holding the hand of this misguided community lead it onto the right path.

CHRONOLOGY

1865	28 January	Birth at Dhudike, a village in Ferozepore district in Punjab
1874		Admission to District Board School, Rupar
1877		Married Radha Devi
1878		Passed Middle School examination
1880		Joined Mission High School, Ludhiana
1881	January	Passed entrance examinations of Calcutta University and Punjab University
	February	Joined Government College, Lahore
		Joined Law School, Lahore
1882		Joined Brahmo Samaj
		Qualified as *Mukhtar*
	December	Joined Arya Samaj
1883	January	Started legal practice as a *Mukhtar* at Jagraon
		Started *The Regenerator of Aryavarta* (English weekly) and *Deshopkarak* (Urdu weekly)
	31 October	Addressed a condolence meeting at Lahore on the death of Swami Dayanand
1884		Moved to Rohtak and continued legal practice as a *Mukhtar*
		Elected Secretary of Rohtak Arya Samaj
1885		Passed law examination and started practising law as a *Vakil* at Rohtak
1886		Shifted to Hissar and continued legal practice there till 1892
		Associated with the founding of D.A.V. School at Lahore which became a college in June 1889
1888	26-9 December	Attended Allahabad Congress as a delegate from Hissar

1889		Elected member of Hissar Municipal Committee and also served as its Honorary Secretary
		Attended Congress session at Bombay and supported resolution on reform of Legislative Councils
1891		Elected Corresponding Secretary of D.A.V. College Managing Committee
1892		Moved to Lahore and started legal practice at Chief Court
		Elected Honorary Secretary of D.A.V. College Managing Committee, Lahore
		Supported College Party as against Mahatma Party in the Lahore Arya Samaj conflict
1893	September	Elected President of Anarkali Arya Samaj founded after the split in Lahore Arya Samaj
		Started *Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College Samachar* (Urdu monthly)
	December	Member of Reception Committee of Lahore Congress
		Met B.G. Tilak and G.K. Gokhale for first time at Lahore Congress
1895		Started Swadeshi movement in Punjab
		Founded, along with Lala Harkishen Lal, Punjab National Bank at Lahore
1896		Began writing books in the series 'Great Men of the World'
		Took active part in famine relief work in north India
1897	February	Organized famine relief work in Central Provinces
		Started Hindu Orphan Relief Movement in Central Provinces
		Led a campaign at Lahore for raising funds for the legal defence of B.G. Tilak

1898		Elected Director of Punjab National Bank
	June	Death of younger brother, Dalpat Rai
		Decided to curtail his work at Bar and devote time to public work
1899-1900		Took active part in famine relief work in Rajputana, Kathiawar and Central Provinces
1900		Death of mother, Gulab Devi
	December	Attended Lahore Congress and elected member of Industrial and Educational Committees
1901		Elected member of All India Congress Committee
		Gave evidence before Indian Famine Commission
		Attended Calcutta Congress
1902		Gave evidence before Indian Universities Commission and submitted a memorandum relating to Punjab University
1904	October	Started *The Panjabee*, a weekly, at Lahore
		Attended Bombay Congress
1905	January	Visited Ceylon and, on return, south India
	February	Met G.K. Gokhale at Calcutta Congress
		Met Sister Nivedita at Calcutta
	April	Engaged in relief work during the Kangra Valley earthquake and founded Kangra Valley Relief Committee
	13 May	Left for England as a Congress delegate
	10 June	Reached London and stayed at India House
	27 July	Addressed a meeting at Stockport Labour Church, Lancashire
	September	Visited America and delivered lectures at New York, Philadelphia and Boston
	October	Went back to London
	1 November	Left England for India
	17 November	Reached Bombay

	22 November	Arrived at Lahore
	26 November	Delivered a speech on the occasion of the anniversary of Anarkali Arya Samaj at Lahore which was used, in May 1907, for his arrest and deportation to Mandalay, Burma (now Myanmar)
	29 December	Attended Banaras Congress and supported the resolution protesting against repressive measures in Bengal
1906		Took active part in agitation against the partition of Bengal
	30 September	Attended Punjab Provincial Political Conference at Ambala
	December	Attended Calcutta Congress
		Death of son-in-law, Dr Jai Chand (husband of Parbati Devi)
1907		Took part in agitation against the Punjab Colonisation of Government Lands Bill and the Punjab Land Alienation Act (Amendment) Bill
	9 May	Arrested under Regulation III of 1818 and deported to Mandalay
	16 May	Lodged in Mandalay Fort prison (Fort Dufferin)
	29 June	Sent a memorial to Governor-General protesting against his arrest
	22 September	Sent another memorial to Secretary of State for India
	11 November	Taken from Mandalay Fort prison to Lahore Central Jail
	18 November	Released at Lahore
	26 December	Attended Surat Congress and withdrew his nomination for Presidentship
	27 December	Attended National Convention convened by Moderates at Surat
	30 December	Presided over All India Swadeshi Conference at Surat

1908	February	Visited Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and several towns of U.P. to organize famine relief work
	4 May	Set out on a second tour of famine-affected areas in U.P.
	29 August	Sailed for England
1909		Attended a dinner given by Indian Majlis at Cambridge and met Indian students, including Jawaharlal Nehru
	March	Returned to India
	October	Founded Hindu Elementary Education League to promote education of Hindu children
1910	March	Third visit to England
	June	Attended Conference on Nationalities and Subject Races in London
	September	Returned to India
1911	March	Death of his second son, Pyare Krishna
		Elected to Lahore Municipal Committee
		Established Punjab Shiksha Sangh and opened schools for primary education
1912	18 October	Delivered presidential speech at All India Arya Kumar Sammelan held at Saharanpur (U.P.)
		Attended Bankipur (Patna) Congress and advocated the cause of Indians in South Africa
1913		Founded Radha Kishan High School, named after his father, at Jagraon
	May	Presided over Depressed Classes Conference at Gurukul Kangri
	December	Attended Karachi Congress and spoke on 'Indian nationals in South Africa'
1914	April	Left for England as a Congress delegate
	17 May	Reached London
	14 November	Left England for New York
	21 November	Reached New York

1915	April	Reached San Francisco
	3 July	Left San Francisco for Yokohama, Japan
	19 July	Reached Yokohama
		Met Japanese Prime Minister, Count Okuma
		Made a speech suggesting formation of a sort of Asian federation at a banquet given in his honour by the journalists of Tokyo
		Met Chinese leader Sun Yat Sen who, after the abortive second Chinese Revolution of July 1913, had taken refuge in Japan
		Met Rash Behari Bose in Tokyo
	27 November	Presided over the banquet given by the Indian community to celebrate the coronation of Emperor Taisho
	12 December	Left Yokohama for San Francisco
	27 December	Reached San Francisco
1917	22 October	Founded Indian Home Rule League of America in New York with himself as President and J.T. Sunderland as Vice-President
1918	January	Started *Young India*, a monthly journal of Home Rule League of America
		Established Hindustan Information Service Association in New York
		Wrote out a memorandum on India's case which was presented before the Foreign Relations Committee of the American Senate
1919	24 December	Left New York for London on way to India
1920	20 February	Reached Bombay
	May	Started *Bande Mataram* (Urdu daily) at Lahore
	4 September	Presided over special session of Calcutta Congress
	7 November	Presided over first All India Trade Union Congress at Bombay

	December	Founded Tilak School of Politics at Lahore
		Attended Nagpur Congress and supported Gandhiji's resolution on non-cooperation
		Founded Dwarka Das Library at Lahore (later shifted to Chandigarh)
	25 December	Presided over All India College Students' Conference at Nagpur
1921	March	Founded Servants of the People Society
	May	Established Qaumi Vidyapeeth at Lahore
	3 December	Arrested for taking part in non-cooperation movement and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment
1922	31 January	Released and re-arrested
	20 February	Sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment
1923		Death of father, Radha Kishan
	16 August	Released from Lahore Central Jail
	December	Presided over Punjab Provincial Conference at Jaranwala
	27 December	Presided over All India Cow Protection Conference at Nagpur
1924	January	Visited Mahatma Gandhi in hospital at Poona
	9 April	Left Bombay for England
		Joined Independent Labour Party of Britain
	June	Visited Switzerland
	August	Visited Constantinople
	September	Returned to India
	December	Attended Belgaum Congress
1925	11 April	Presided over Calcutta session of Hindu Mahasabha
	July	Started *The People*, a weekly, at Lahore
	5 December	Presided over Bombay Provincial Hindu Conference at Bombay
	20 December	Gave evidence before Punjab Jails Inquiry Committee

	25 December	Attended Kanpur Congress
	December	Elected to Central Legislative Assembly
1926	January	Joined Swaraj Party and elected its Deputy Leader in Central Legislative Assembly
	26 January	Made a speech in Central Legislative Assembly supporting the resolution demanding release of political prisoners
	May	Left for Europe
	7 May	Arrived at Marseilles and left for Paris
		Visited London for a week
	26 May	Attended Eighth International Labour Conference at Geneva
	2 June	Spoke at International Labour Conference on the existence of *begar* (forced labour) in India
		Met Shyamji Krishna Varma at Geneva
		Met Jawaharlal Nehru, who was at this time in Switzerland and called on him at Geneva
		Paid visits to Romain Rolland at Geneva
		Attended World Parliaments Union at Geneva
		Went back to London and addressed World Migration Congress
	13 August	Returned to India
	24 August	Resigned from Swaraj Party
	14 September	Founded, along with Madan Mohan Malaviya, Independent Congress Party (Nationalist Party)
		Elected to Central Legislative Assembly from two constituencies
1927	9 January	Presided over first session of Burma Provincial Hindu Sabha held at Rangoon
	April	Met Mahatma Gandhi at Sabarmati
	May	Left for Europe
	19 August	Returned to India

	December	Attended Madras Congress and supported resolution advocating boycott of Simon Commission
		Founded Gulab Devi Memorial Trust
1928	16 February	Moved resolution in Central Legislative Assembly refusing co-operation with Simon Commission
	March	Founded Shraddhanand Achhut Uddhar Ashram at Lahore
	28-30 August	Attended All Parties Conference at Lucknow at which Nehru Report was adopted
	27-8 October	Presided over Agra Provincial Hindu Conference at Etawah (U.P.)
	30 October	Led a procession demonstrating against Simon Commission at Lahore and received lathi blows from the police
		Addressed a public meeting the same evening
	3-4 November	Attended AICC meeting at Delhi
	17 November	Death at Lahore

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